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Frontispiece: Han's Night Banquet – Photo after Zhong 1984

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Han Xi Zai's Night Banquet: a silk painting from the tenth-century Nan Tang court

Peter Chang

1. Introduction

This study deals with a well-known Chinese scroll painting, *Picture of Han Xi Zai's Night Banquet*, originally produced probably during the Nan Tang period (937–975) by a court painter, Gu Hong Zhong (Ku Hong Chung): a version of the painting appears in *figures 1* and *4–7*.¹ The painting portrays musical performances in the residence of Han Xi Zai, an important government official, *Zhong Shu Shi Lang*, the minister of the state department. It is an important visual document for the study of music in the late Tang and early Song periods. In this respect, Chinese musicologists have linked it to the written records (See Yang 1981: I, 224–5, and *Zhong Guo* 1984: 241). Yet neither Chinese art historians nor musicologists have dealt with this kind of visual documentation adequately. While the musicologists are less concerned with musical paintings' stylistic features and their social and artistic milieu, the art historians are less able to deal with musical matters. An integrated approach is therefore necessary.²

To establish a firm ground for a reasonable interpretation of this particular painting from an iconographic perspective, one must first deal with the reliability of the use of painting as historical documentation. Further, an accurate interpretation of the visual components and their significance depends on the understanding not only of the technical aspects of the musical practice of the time, but also of the painting as a work of art in its own right. With respect to the latter question, one is particularly interested in the origin and the meaning of the painting, and the intentions of the artist. As the artist left no written material, and his motivations are unclear, it is necessary to examine a wider range of relevant sources, musical as well as art-historical.

2. The sources and documentation

Sources concerning the painting can be classified into three categories: 1) historical chronicles, painting treatises, and catalogues, 2) existing versions of the painting, and 3) written passages on the scroll. One item from each category will serve as the point of departure for discussion. These items are: the *Xuan He* or *XH* catalogue of the Song emperor Hui Zong's painting collections (dated 1120);³ the source painting deposited in the Palace Museum in

1 Beijing: Palace Museum. Color and ink on silk scroll, 28.7 cm (h) : 335.3 cm (l). Reproduced in Xu Bang Da 1980: 7–10.

2 I have found Seebass 1992 particularly useful as a methodological guide to an integrated approach.

3 The full title of this catalogue is *Xuan He Hua Pu*. According to subject, it groups paintings into ten categories and twenty volumes, totalling 6,396 items by 231 painters. The present painting was subsumed under the human figure category, of which there are 4 listed in the catalogue. For more information, see *Lion Books Dictionary* 1989: 294. The *XH* catalogue lists 4 paintings, then extant, of the same subject. For a printed version of the *XH* catalogue, see chapter 7 in Yu An Lan 1982.

Beijing;⁴ and the biography of Han, the subject of the scroll painting, written on this scroll by an anonymous writer, probably of the Yuan period (1279–1368),⁵ and entitled *Han Xi Zai Xiao Zhuan* or “Han’s Short Biography”.

The twelfth-century *XH* catalogue is the earliest record of the painting. No historical document prior to the *XH* catalogue records the name of the person who actually commissioned the painting. Concerning the views on the painting’s origin, there is no disagreement between the *XH* Catalogue and later sources, such as *Han’s Short Biography* and relevant painting treatises. Therefore, I believe that our present knowledge about the genesis of the painting is mainly based on the *XH* catalogue, which postdates the painting by nearly two centuries.

Further evidence beyond the catalogue comes from Han’s tombstone. The kind of music performed in Han’s house, namely *Qing Shang Yue* [popular music of Chinese origin], was mentioned in Han’s epitaph, written by Xu Xuan, Han’s contemporary, and documented by Cui Ling Qin in his book *Jiao Fang Ji*, the *Notes on the Musical Training and Performing Institution* (1959).⁶

A large number of Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) painting catalogues with identical or similar listings of titles of the painting seem to cause confusion about the condition and the authenticity of the original painting. At this point, however, we do know that the painting in the Palace Museum in Beijing is the oldest surviving version⁷, documented by Tang Hou, an art historian of the Yuan Period (1279–1368).⁸ In order to distinguish this version from others, the acronym *PMB* will be assigned to it.

Han’s *Short Biography*, which also contains information concerning other characters in the painting, is found written on the left side of the painting on the scroll (fig. 2). The biography reads:

Han Xi Zai, a native of Qi, resided in the Nan Tang court [937–975]. During Zhu Wen’s time [907–923], he held the academic title of *jinshi*. Together with his friend Shi Xu Bai, he also held an administrative post under Sung Yue Wen. In the sixth year of *shun yi* [926], he and Shi changed their names and defected to the state of Nan Tang, where both were offered official posts. Shi declined the offer and became a recluse. Han was erudite but undisciplined and wanton. Under the older emperor, he was not promoted. However, the new emperor [Li Yu, 937–978] appointed him secretary, and then third-ranking officer in the ministry of defense. The new emperor was suspicious about his officials of northern origins. He had murdered a few of them by poisoning. Han was afraid of this. Thus, he tried

4 The original has been kept with other national treasures in security, not to be displayed publicly. Instead, the one on display is a facsimile made by Rong Bao Zhai, an art gallery, in the 1970s. From 1970 to 1980, Rong Bao Zhai had reproduced 30 copies of this work. Some of them are for sale (for the procedures of reproduction, see *Rong Bao Zhai Catalogue*).

5 See Gao Mu Sen. Gao believes that this biography is a work of Yuan painter and calligrapher, Zhao Meng Fu (* 1254). His assumption is based on a comparison of calligraphic styles (1982: 38).

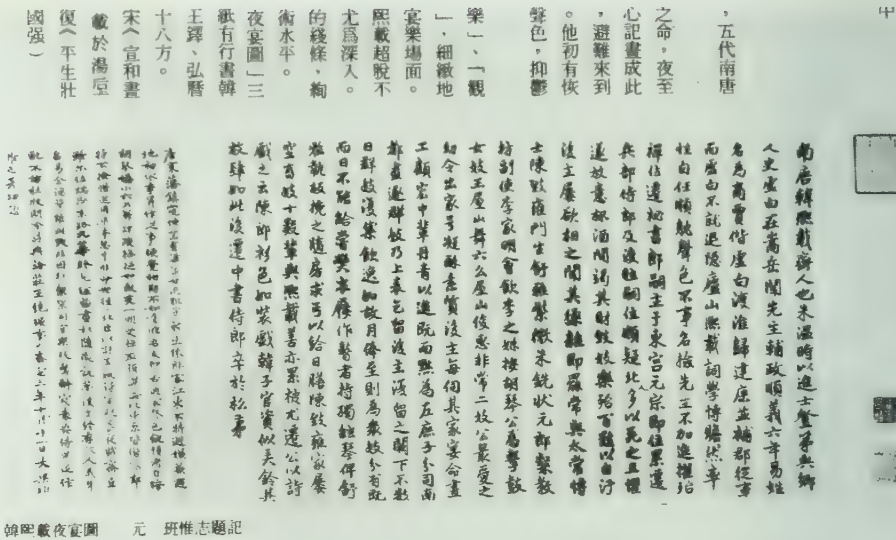
6 See Ren 1962: 149. Xu Xuan was the special envoy sent to the North for a series of negotiations for the last Nan Tang emperor Li Yu; see Oyang 1974: ch. 62, 779–80.

7 Henceforth called *PMB* version. It bears commentaries by art historians, collectors and connoisseurs, and seals from the Southern Song to Qing periods.

8 In his *Hua Jian*, Tang Huo recorded that he had seen Gu’s original painting, which bears Shi Mi Yuan’s seal *Shao Xun* found also on the *PMB* version, and compared it with Zhou Wen Ju’s painting of the same subject in the Capital (Beijing, then called Da Du). He notices the differences between Gu’s and Zhou’s works (cited in Xu 1984: 156). Unfortunately, Zhou’s paintings are lost. And another four paintings of this subject of the Ming and Qing periods are also lost. However, there is a reproduction of the painting by a Ming painter housed in a museum in Chung Qing (see Xu 1984: 159–61). Sun Cheng Ze (late Qing period) in his *Geng Zi Xiao Xia Ji* mentions that he had seen an imitation by a Southern Song, painter Wang Chang Yuan or Wang Peng Chong (cited in Xu 1984: 156). Qi (1986: 112) also mentions that there were three paintings claimed to be the original, including this one. Based on the writings of two Qing scholars, he believes that the other two were lost during either the late Ming or early Qing period.



1. Gu Hong Zhong, *Han Xi Zai Ye Yan Tu* [Han Xi Zai's Night Banquet]. Beijing, Palace Museum. – Photo after *Zhong Guo Wen Wu* 2 (March 1980). The scroll is too long to be fitted on one page and has here been divided in four sections proceeding from top right to bottom left

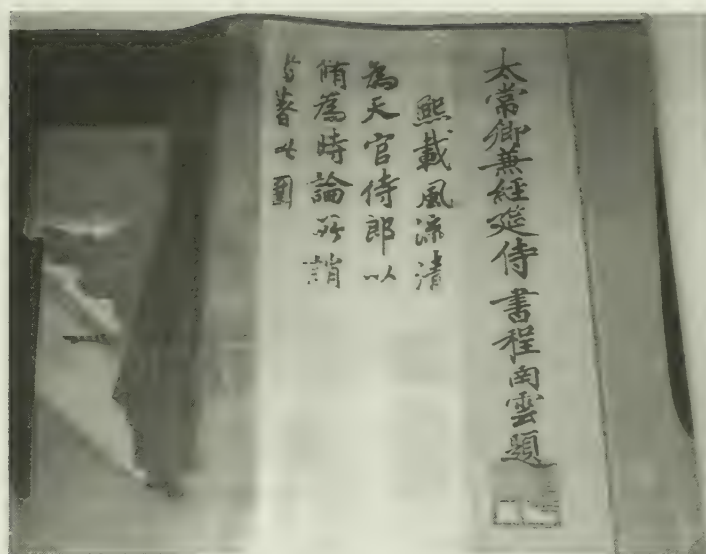


2. Han's Night Banquet, text to the left of the picture: Han Xi Zai Xiao Zhuan [Short Biography of Han Xi Zai right, larger characters] and Ban Wei Zhi, Ba [Commentary of the Painting left, smaller characters]. – Photo after Zhong 1984

to create an impression that all he cared about was drinking and squandering money by keeping about a hundred female musicians/slaves or prostitutes in his household. His debauched life style ruined his reputation so that several times the emperor, intending to promote him to prime minister, had to give up after hearing rumors about Han's behavior. Han often had drinking parties with Chen Zhi Yong (a musical scholar and a fourth-ranking official in the Music Bureau) and with his disciples, Shu Ya, Ziwei Zhu Xi, scholar Lang Can, and Li Jia Ming (the deputy of the conservatory [*jiao fang*]). Li's sister played the *pipa*, Han played the drum. Han's girl servant Wang Wu Shan danced *Liu Yao*. Wang was pretty and intelligent. She was one of Han's favorites who came to his household at a young age. Their aliases were Ning Su and Su Zhi. The emperor wanted to know what Han's parties looked like. He ordered a painter, Gu Hong Zhong [serving the Academy of Painting], to paint the scene and show it to him. After seeing the painting, the emperor demoted Han. Han dismissed his girls and begged the emperor not to banish him. As soon as the emperor pardoned him, the girls all came back like before. Han spent all his stipend on girls. When his purse was empty, he changed clothes, pretending to be a blind musician with Shu Ya playing the clapper to accompany him, and begged from house to house. Chen also wasted his wealth by keeping a large number of girls in his household. He was eventually demoted. Han said jokingly, "Chen's clothes looked like those of an actor, and my official job is like that of a guest at a whorehouse." Han was too wild. Nevertheless, he was later appointed *zhong shu shi lang*, an important official in the "State Department". He died in his home. [Zhong Guo Mei Shu Quan Ji 1988: Appendix p. 36, my translation]

It was customary for collectors to put their seals⁹ on a painting and for poets or calligraphers to write poems surrounding the picture on a scroll. These writings were called *ba* or "commentary of the work". Han's *Night Banquet* bears five such *ba* (see fig. 2). Several important seals appear on the painting, including the seal (*Shao Xun*) of Shi Mi Yuan, who was a Southern Song official,¹⁰ and the seal of Qing emperor Qian Long, who reigned 1736–96.

9 There are 48 collectors' seals on this painting.
10 This should not be confused with *Shao Xing*, the seal of the Southern Song emperor Gao Zong (reigned 1127–31). For more on Shi Mi Yuan, see Xu 1984: 158.



3. *Han's Night Banquet*, detail on the right side: seals of collectors. — Photo after Zhong 1984

Among the *ba*, the content of Ban Wei Zhi's commentary, written in 1362, is basically the same as the anonymous *Short Biography* cited above. A written passage on the right side of the painting (scene one) states that the painting was inspired by the desire to depict Han's unchaste life style (fig. 3).¹¹ These texts, together with the aforementioned *XH* catalogue, which was commissioned by the Northern Song emperor Hui Zong (reigned 1101–19), are arranged chronologically in order to show that this painting (the *PMB* version) had been in the hands of collectors and writers of different periods.¹²

1. The <i>XH</i> catalogue, dated	1120
2. Shi Mi Yuan's seal "Shao Xun"	ca. 1127–1279
3. Han's <i>Short Biography</i> by Zhao Meng Fu?	before 1254
4. Ban Wei Zhi (poem/commentary), dated	1326
5. The caption of the painting by Cheng Yun Nan	before 1403
6. Wang Duo (commentary) for Wang Peng Chong	1592–1652
7. Emperor Qian Long (seal commentary)	1711–1799
8. Commentary by Ji Yu Zhai Zhu Ren	(date unknown) ¹³

- 11 "Xi Zai feng liu qing wei tian guan ci lang yi xiu wei shi lun suo xiao zhu ci tu" [Han was an official, but lived as a libertine, such that there were rumors around, thus this painting was so conceived]. — Gu Fu (1962: 86) in his *Ping Sheng Zhuang Guan* identifies the style of the writing as Gao Zong's, thus wrongly identifying the seal *Shao Xun* as *Shao Xing*, that of the Southern Song emperor Gao Zong.
- 12 Nine other seals mentioned in *Shi Qu Bao Ji Chu Bian* (Zhang et al. 1971: ch. 32) are listed below, left-to-right in accordance with the order of their appearance on the painting (*PMB*): Jiao Lin Shu Wu, 2) He Bei Tang Cun, 3) Shang Qiu Song Gao Shen Ding Zhen Ji, 4) Wu Shi Jia, 5) Cang Yan Zi, 6) Jiao Lin Ju Shi, 7) Wei Xiao Cao Tang Hua Ji, 8) Jiao Lin, and 9) Yie Xi Yu Yin (cited in *Five Thousand Years* 1986: 137–9).
- 13 The original signature, Nian Geng Yao's alias, was "Ji Xue Zhai Zhu Ren". The present character "Yu" has replaced the previous "Xue" used during the Qing period. For more about Nian Geng Yao, see Xu 1984: 157 and 161; Qi 1986: 113.

The fact that there is no evidence from these materials and other historical documents to substantiate what was said in the *Short Biography*, and that there is no mention of the painter Gu Hong Zhong in written material earlier than the *XH* catalogue, invites much debate about the genesis of the work. Some historians argue that the painting is either a late Northern Song or the Southern Song reproduction of the original.¹⁴ Their arguments are based on the clothing style of the characters and the painting style of the screens in the picture. But some even consider the *PMB* version itself to be the original work of Gu Hong Zhong.¹⁵

According to Han's *Short Biography* and the *XH* catalogue, the painting was commissioned by Li Yu, the last emperor of the Nan Tang court, as evidence for Han's debauched life style to be used against him. A Wu Dai (Five Dynasties, 907–960) chronicle by Xue Ju Zheng (912–981) mentions that Li Yu respected Han's loyalty, frankness and erudition, and wanted to promote him as secretary of state; however, it was necessary for Han first to change his life style before taking the position.¹⁶

Apparently, Han's character was known and documented by his contemporaries. The problem here is that one cannot find the painter Gu Hong Zhong's name anywhere in these earlier documents. Although the *XH* catalogue acknowledges this commission, it does not provide sources for this claim, nor does it specify the date of the commission. A painting book, *Bi Chen*, reveals that the information concerning the background of paintings in the *XH* catalogue came largely from the recollections of officials from previous courts, that contradictions do exist, and that one cannot trust these accounts entirely.¹⁷ Cai Tao, in his *Tie Wei Shan Cong Tan*, points out that the renowned Northern Song painter, Mi Fu, was responsible for identifying artists and authenticating paintings in the *XH* catalogue (*Lion Books Dictionary* 1989: 294).

According to the *XH* catalogue, there was another painting with a similar title, *Han Xi Zai Zong Yue Tu* [Picture of Han's Indulgence in Music] by Gu Da Zhong, suggesting this painter was Gu Hong Zhong's relative. The cataloguer may have been confused by these two paintings. Unfortunately, Gu Da Zhong's painting has been lost. It is also possible that there was a Northern Song version of the painting by an artist who knew of Xue Ju Zheng's description of Han's life style in the chronicle of the Five Dynasties; perhaps this painter's work was mistakenly attributed to Gu Hong Zhong by the compiler of the *XH* catalogue.

Another contemporary of Gu Hong Zhong, Zhou Wen Ju, also painted the same theme, with a similar title. This copy had been in the possession of a rich Song aristocrat, Zhao Zuo Cheng; it had been recorded in Zhao's private collection of paintings and calligraphy (Yang 1962: I, 55). Again, this copy has been lost.

A private collector and aristocrat of the Song period, Zhao Lan Po, also possessed a copy of the painting (*ibidem*: I, 187). A Ming (1368–1644) catalogue, *Qian Shan Tang Shu Hua Ji* by Wen Jia, contains entries of the painting and states that this copy is the authentic version with writings from the Yuan period.¹⁸

14 Whether such an original version had ever existed will be discussed later. Concerning this view, see passages in chapter 8 of Sun Cheng Ze's *Geng Zi Xiao Xia Ji*, cited in *Five Thousand Years* 1986: 137. Sun proposed that this work was in the academic style of the southern Song period. Xu Bang Da supports Sun's view (1984: 159). Gao Mu Sen opposes it; he argues that until one knows more about the landscape painting of the Nan Tang and Wu Dai periods, one cannot date the painting accurately, and that one should not rely on the matching of the landscape painting styles between the Song period and the screen paintings in the picture, see Gao 1982: 44–5.

15 See passages of *Shi Qu Bao Ji Chu Bian*, cited in *Five Thousand Years* 1986: I, 138–9.

16 Xue 1972: ch. 62, p. 13, and the *Xu Tang Shu* (Anonymous 1896: vol. 7).

17 *Bi Chen* is cited in *Lion Books Dictionary* 1989: 294. However, the date of *Bi Chen* is not given.

18 Wen 1568: 51. If these Yuan writings refer to Ban Wei Zhi's writing (found on the *PMB* version), it is likely that the *PMB* version is catalogued here.

The most comprehensive source, *Li Dai Zhu Lu Hua Mu* by Fu Kai Sen (1933), an index of catalogues of historical records of paintings, lists twenty-one Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) catalogues, with entries of the painting appearing in the Qing period.

The following chart lists variant titles of the subject and the number of catalogues containing them:

Variant Titles	Catalogues with Entries
1. <i>Han Xi Zai Ye Yan Tu</i> [Picture of Han Xi Zai's night banquet]	10
2. <i>Ye Yan</i> [Night banquet]	1
3. <i>Ye Yan Tu</i> [Picture of night banquet]	1
4. <i>Jiang Nan Ye Yan Tu San Juan</i> [Picture of the southern Yang tze night banquet in three scrolls]	4
5. <i>Han Xi Zai Ye Yan Tu Er</i> [Picture of Han Xi Zai's night banquet no. 2]	1
6. <i>Han Xi Zai Ye Yan Tu Yi Juan</i> [Picture of Han's night banquet in one scroll]	1
7. <i>Han Xi Zai Ye Yan Tu Juan</i> [Picture of Han's night banquet on scroll]	2
8. <i>Xie Han Xi Zai Ye Yan Tu</i> [Painting of the picture of Han's night banquet]	1
Total	21

Ten of the catalogues edited by Fu Kai Sen have recorded paintings with the title of the present painting (Fu Kai Sen 1933: 4, 465). Among them, *Tie Wang Shan Hu* [Coral in the Iron Nets] by Zhu Cun Li (1970) follows *XH*'s description of the painting. Important commentaries about the motifs and genesis of the painting appear in *Geng Zi Xiao Xia Ji* (1900), *Shi Qu Bao Ji Chu Bian* (Zhang *et al.* 1971), and *Ping Sheng Zhuang Guan* (1692) (see Xu 1984: 156–7). The *Geng Zi* (1900: ch. 8) proposes that the work was painted during the Southern Song period (1127–1279), instead of the Nan Tang, and that the copier did not understand why Han's figure was larger than the others. This catalogue also identifies the monk in the painting as De Ming, Han's sympathizer. The *Shi Qu* (Zhang *et al.* 1971: ch. 32) describes in detail the writings and seals on the painting. It further reveals that the painting had been in a private collector's hands and that this collector had attempted to authenticate the painting.¹⁹ The *Ping Sheng* of 1692 is the earliest source to define the five themes of the painting, and the present notion of these five themes is essentially based on this source (Gu 1962: ch. 6).

Because of the dearth of documentation, important questions as to when and how Hui Zong (Zhao Kuang Ji) acquired the painting will remain unanswered. However, it is logical to think that when the first Song emperor, Tai Zu (Zhao Kuang Yin), captured the last Nan Tang emperor in 975, he might have obtained the painting and then passed it on to his successors. In fact, one such instance can be cited here. In order to show his loyalty to the victor, Li Yu, the last Nan Tang emperor, had offered one of Zhou Wen Ju's paintings, *Nan Zhuang Tu*, as a gift to the Song emperor (Chen 1984: 52). Sources concerning the fate of the Nan Tang Imperial Academy of Painting and the emperor's collection of paintings during the late Nan Tang period are vital to solving the puzzle.²⁰ More research in this area is needed.

19 "Shang Qiu Song Luo Shen Ding Zhen Ji." See *Five Thousand Years* 1986: I, 137.

20 See Swann n.d. On page 9, he comments on the difficulty of separating originals from copies: "unscrupulous keepers of collections, especially of imperial collectors, who were themselves lovers of the art, often substituted copies for the original [...] But a number of these old paintings attributed to a famous artist are often outstanding works of art in themselves."

Although at this point no convincing conclusion can be drawn, some suggestions can be advanced: 1) We now know that our conception about the date, artist, and background of the painting owes much to the *XH* catalogue, and, to a lesser degree, to later compilers of catalogues, to artists, and to commentators. 2) Besides the Nan Tang emperor's exclusive commissioning of the work, the anecdotes about Han's life style could very well have been another source of inspiration for creating paintings of this subject, since these anecdotes were chronicled and widely spread during the Wu Dai and Song periods. 3) The *XH* catalogue states that spying on one's subordinate's private life is immoral and such a painting is not worthy of keeping (Yu 1982: ch. 7, p. 73). This commentary, by implying that the emperor's motivation was improper, seems to contradict the anecdote about the commission. The *XH* catalogue was produced under the auspices of Hui Zong, the Northern Song emperor. Therefore, it carries prestige and authority. I think the *XH*'s criticism of the commission of the work reflects the Song painting academy's attitude toward earlier sources. Such an ideological position made it common to bowdlerize passages from previous dynasties' documentation in the process of compiling new chronicles or catalogues. 4) Since no extant versions of the painting bears Hui Zong's seal and writing, the version listed in the *XH* catalogue may have been lost.

3. Description of the painting

Most present-day scholars agree that the five scenes of the painting are separated by the screens depicted in the painting, and certain themes or motifs run across these screens. However, certain details of the picture make this interpretation problematic: should we view the picture from right to left or the other way round? In addition to Han, is the emperor also portrayed in the painting? Is this painting, after all, a patch-work with sections missing? Is it possible to reconstruct the original? Before answering these questions, we shall first use Han's *Short Biography*, the *PMB* version of the painting, and other material discussed earlier as references to describe the painting.

In the first scene (on the right), *Ting Yue* [Listening to Music], the host (Han) and his friend, Chen Zhi Yong, in a red robe, a music scholar and an official of the Ministry of Rites and Music, are sitting on the bed (fig. 4).²¹ They are highly attentive, as shown by the expression in their eyes and gestures. The man sitting in front of Han playing a clapper is Li Jia Ming,²² the deputy director of the *Jiao Fang*, a court institution for musical training and performances. Li and the man sitting next to the *pipa* player share similar facial characteristics and clothing styles. Another man sitting near the red-robed man has a moustache but no goatee, whereas the red-robed man and two men standing at the back of the room have neither moustache nor goatee.

The two dinner guests near the tables and the two men standing on the far left side are difficult to identify. The *Short Biography* mentions three names. Of those two might refer to the men far left: Shu Ya (Han's disciple) and Zhu Xi (his title is *Zi Wei*, the nature of which is unclear). Shu Ya's name appears in Wu Ren Chen's eighteenth-century chronicle of the Wu Dai period (907–960), *The Annals of the Ten States* (Wu 1983: ch. 31, p. 449). The work describes Shu Ya's loyalty to Han as such that he even agreed to join Han in dissolute behavior.

21 Next to Han, Chen was the second highest ranking official in the scene. Xu Bang Da, Qi Gong, and Weng and Yang have suggested that the red-robed man could be Lang Can (Xu 1980: 26, 1984: 158; Qi 1986: 111; Weng and Yang 1982: 161). However, since Chen's disposition for keeping female musicians in his household is akin to Han's and is mentioned in the *Short Biography*, and his name was listed above Lang Can in the *Short Biography*, it is more likely that this man is Chen instead of Lang Can.

22 Weng Wan Go and Yang Bo Da believe that Li is sitting next to his sister (1982: 160).

Li's sister plays a four-stringed *pipa* with a plectrum. The two girls standing with the men on the left are two of Han's favorite house slaves. The shorter one, in front, is Wang Wu Shan or Ning Su. The woman standing beside the bed in front of a *shu gu* [drum for story-telling], seems to have a more intimate relationship with Han, because she stands by Han in scenes three and four. In scene three, she carries a *pipa*, two *dizi* (flutes), and a *bi li* (oboe), and in scene one, behind Han there is a *pipa* on the bed. Her manner of carrying these instruments, especially the way she puts the *pipa* on her shoulder, shows her familiarity with these instruments; very likely, she is musical and a player of the *pipa*.

The second scene (fig. 5), *Guan Wu* [Watching the Dance] shows the performance of the dance *Liu Yao* [Six-One] or *Lu Yao* [The Green Waist], which was then popular not only in the courts, but in ordinary households as well. Han's *Short Biography* identifies the dancer as Wang Wu Shan.²³

Moreover, in this scene, the importance of Chen Zhi Yong, the red-robed man among the guests, can be discerned from the fact that he is seated at a prominent spot, in contrast to the others who are standing. The music and dance performed here contain vocal sections, and the rhythm is emphasized by hand clapping and a six-piece wood clapper. The monk close to the clapper player has been identified as De Ming in Sun Cheng Ze's *Geng Zi Xiao Xia Ji* (n.d.: ch. 8); he is said to have been sympathetic toward Han's political views. Han, having once fled from the north to the state of Nan Tang, was disappointed at the emperor's decision not to reclaim the territory north of the Yang Tze River. Our host, dressed in a yellow robe in this scene, plays the drum, *da gu*.²⁴

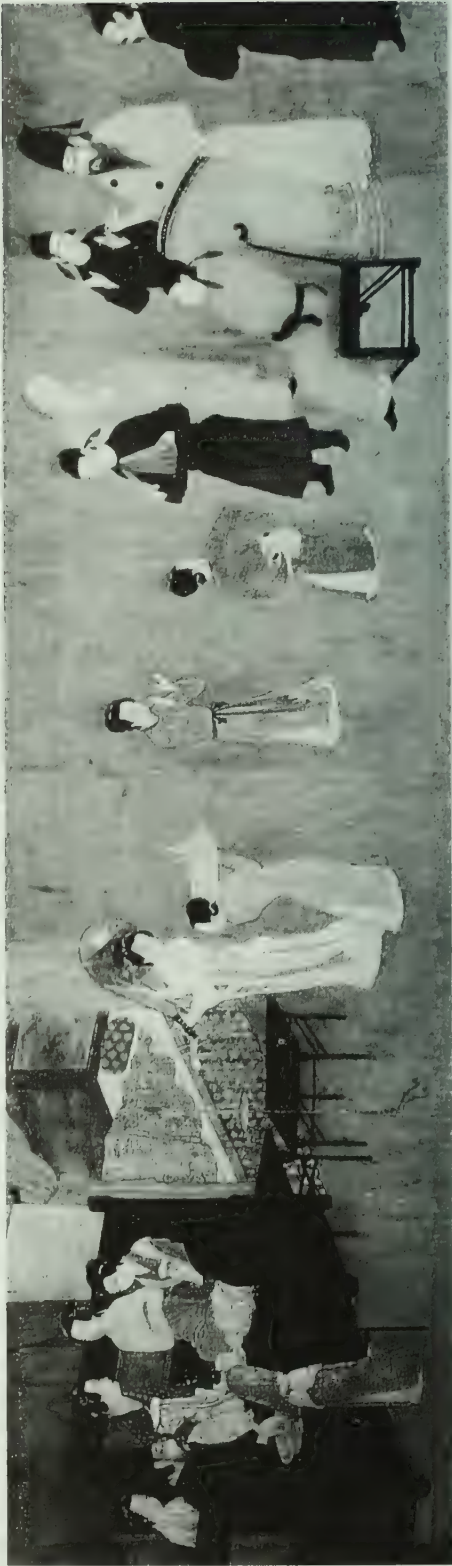
The third scene, *Xiu Xi* [Rest], depicts an intermission between Han's house-concerts. Han is attended by a girl, probably Wang Wu Shan, as he washes his hands. He is looking at another girl, who holds a *pipa*, two flutes, and an oboe, instead of paying attention to the girls surrounding him.

In scene four (fig. 6), *Qing Chui* [Unaccompanied Wind Ensemble], the room seems to be warm, as Han is already in undergarments. The girl standing in front of him holding a clapper, seems to have been talking with him. As there is only one seat for the clapper player and it is occupied by Li, it is reasonable to believe that Han wanted Li to show this girl either new rhythms or how to play with greater precision. Among the members of the ensemble, two flute players are looking in the same direction, one oboe player is looking at Li and two other oboe players are looking at each other. The fact that all the flute players are using the same fingering, playing in unison, and the three oboists, using a fingering different from flutists, are also playing in unison, suggests that either the ensemble was playing a two-voiced piece or the painter was familiar only with such stereotypical fingerings. The girl behind the screen is pointing backwards to draw the attention of the man in front of the screen to what is happening behind her. But what she is reporting is unclear.

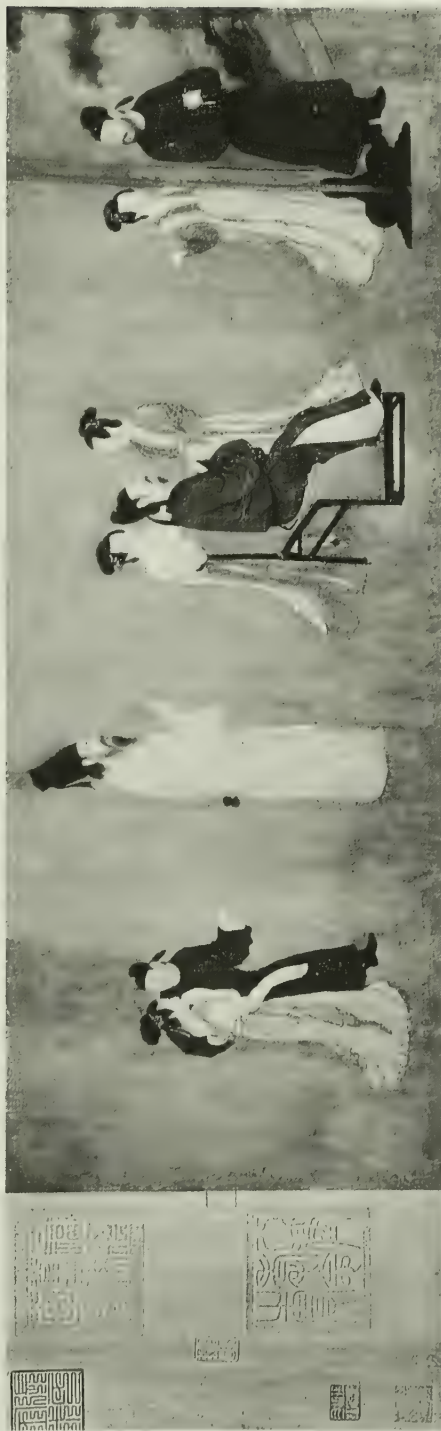
The last scene (fig. 7) is entitled *Song Bie* [Departing]. Here, Han is again in a yellow gown, holding a pair of mallets. He gestures "no" or "be quiet" to someone with his left hand. Before him, Li is sitting in a chair, holding his sister's hand and listening to something attentively. Li's

23 No information on how Han's *Short Biography* had reached this conclusion can be found. Yang Yin Liu's and other scholars' accounts of this dance scene are perhaps based solely on this source.

24 A variant name for it is *jie gu*. Nan Zhuo (Tang period) describes *jie gu*, a favored instrument among Tang aristocrats, as follows: it looks like a paint barrel, made of mulberry wood. It sits on a serrated-edged stand. The two mallets are made of hard wood. The rings are made of metal. Song Jing (Tang period) observed the playing posture of the drum as "*Tou si qing shan feng, shou ru bai yu dian*" [the performer's head is held up like a mountain peak, and his roll is fast like a downpour of rain]. See Nan Zhuo 1936: 3 and 10.



4. *Han's Night Banquet*, scene 1. – Photo after Zhong 1984
5. *Han's Night Banquet*, scenes 2 and 3. – Photo after Zhong 1984



6. *Han's Night Banquet*, scene 4. — Photo after Zhong 1984

7. *Han's Night Banquet*, scene 5. — Photo after Zhong 1984

sister is talking with the woman behind Li. At the very end of the scene, a man is urging a girl to look at something, walking toward Han and his guests.

As mentioned earlier, contemporary Chinese art historians have generally accepted the sequential order of the five scenes,²⁵ but have also pointed out incongruities between motifs in such a sequence. Li Song (1979), Xu Bang Da (1980), Zhang An Zhi (1978), Shan Guo Qiang (1988), Gao Mu Sen (1982) and the editorial committee for *Five Thousand Years of Chinese Art* (1986) have all dealt with the problem from various aspects. Li Song, for example, has suggested that the problem of incongruity may have been caused by the fact that the work was wrongly spliced and patched (cited in Gao 1982: 41). Conversely, Gao Mu Sen believes that by reinterpreting Han's *Short Biography* the motifs will follow one another naturally (1982: 41). Gao's assumption is based on his uneasiness in seeing Han wearing a yellow robe, since he thinks that the yellow robe was reserved solely for the emperor.

Gao believes, therefore, that the person in the yellow robe is the emperor, who was also a libertine.²⁶ Accordingly, he has proposed a retrograde sequence; that is, the scenario proceeds from left to right instead of the reverse. Gao then goes on to tell the story. The emperor, with a pair of mallets, arrives at Han's house where Han is listening to the wind ensemble. The emperor gestures to the girl behind the screen, telling her not to disturb Han. After the concert, Han dresses up in a black robe and washes his hands, while the emperor plays the drum to accompany Wang Wu Shan. At the banquet, while everybody is listening to the *pipa* music, the emperor has gone to bed with some girls since his seat is vacated.²⁷ In order to make the emperor's appearance in the picture probable, Gao has to change the story as told in Han's *Short Biography*.

In comparison with the standard interpretation, Gao's solution for the incongruity between scenes and motifs is even more problematic. First, it would have been entirely inappropriate for the emperor, Han, to sit crammed on a bed with Chen. Common knowledge tells us that if an emperor were there, he had to sit above everyone else.

Second, the red-robed man has been with Han on the bed, and his sudden close relationship with the "emperor" in the drumming scene, together with Han's absence from this scene, also arouse suspicion. Moreover, Han's contemporary Xue Ju Zheng's chronicle *History of the Five Dynasties* (1972: ch. 62, p. 13–4) and Wu Ren Chen's *The Annals of the Ten States* (1983: 397–400) have described Han as an undisciplined person rather than a law abider. Wu documented specifically that Han designed his own clothes (which were to become fashionable during his time) and that he designed his own hat too — and wears it in the painting.²⁸ Therefore, Han's wearing a yellow robe would fit his character. The degree of restriction on wearing yellow robes during the Nan Tang period is perhaps worthy of further investigation.

Third, why does the emperor have to bring his own mallets? In fact, we know nothing about his hobby of playing the drum. Yet if he knew that Han played the drum and had a drum at

25 Li 1979: 5–18; Xu 1980: 26–7; Zhang 1978: 156–61; Shan 1988: 36; Gao 1982: 38; Weng and Yang 1982: 160–3. The source for these interpretations is Gu Fu's *Ping Sheng Zhuang Guan* of 1692 (1962).

26 In Oyang Xiu's *Xin Wu Dai Shi*, the last Nan Tang emperor was not described as a wanton character. Li was versed not only in poetry and literature, but painting and calligraphy as well. See Oyang 1974: 777.

27 Gao 1982: 41. He explains his theory of a left-to-right viewing by referring to: 1) the influence of Buddhist writing habits; 2) the fact that the Yang Tze River flows from west to east and Nan Tang was in the east; 3) the fact that the artist deliberately deceives the viewer. This explanation seems to be far-fetched. Gao cannot explain why these factors would apply to this particular painting, and not others.

28 Curiously, another painting, *He Yue Tu*, allegedly by Gu's contemporary, Zhou Wen Ju, also depicts this type of hat, but the relationship between the two paintings is unclear. For Han's innovative ideas about clothing, see Wu 1983: 399.

home, there was no need for him to bring his own mallets. The emperor had no reason to worry about not having mallets in the house of his inferior.

Finally, the facial resemblance between the yellow-robed man and the black-robed man is too striking. It is hard to believe that the emperor, a southerner, and Han, a northerner, had nearly identical faces.

The following chart groups some of the questions concerning the consistency of the themes and motifs in the painting according to the five-scene sequence:

5	4	3 2	1
1. Why change yellow robe again?	What is being discussed between the girl and the man on each side of the screen?	no screen! 1. Was the <i>pipa</i> used in scene 2? 2. Are the flutes and oboe to be used in scene 4?	1. What does this <i>pipa</i> suggest? 2. Was the drum used for story-telling? 3. Did this concert have several performances?
2. Why does the emperor bring his own mallets?			
3. What is Li looking at?			
4. Why departing in the wrong direction?			

One explanation for such an inconsistency, however, is that the painter did not try to create an interconnected sequence of themes. His attention was focused on the depiction of each figure or localized event rather than logic and thematic congruity. On the other hand, to a large extent his depiction must have been based on a real model, which could have come from his repeated observation of the actual musical activity and performing postures. His concept about how musical activity was arranged, I believe, is rather accurately reflected in the painting, and the incongruity of themes in our version of the painting could have resulted from splicing the original painting, the *PMB* version or even an earlier one.

Clearly, the themes of the last scene and the drumming and dancing scene are related, because in both Han wears yellow robes and holds mallets. Also, both scenes have splicing marks. The rationale for such an arrangement is perhaps to avoid duplicating Han in the same scene. Aesthetically, having two Hans in the same scene facing each other would be less desirable than having three girls, two dancing and one holding a tray, to form a triangle. To construct a sensible sequence, I propose that the original painting had more scenes, and was much longer than its present form, which is only a portion of it:

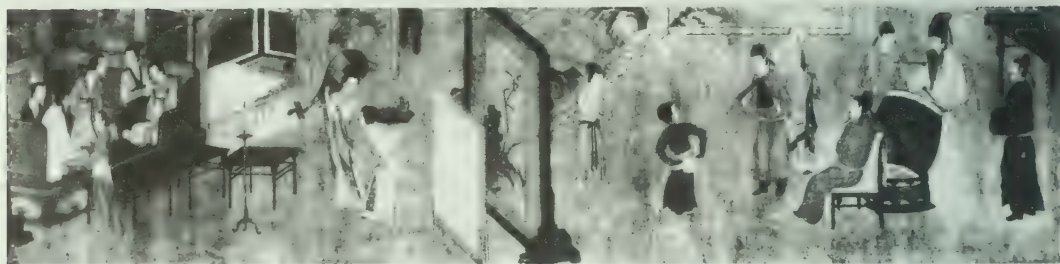
section missing	4	3	section missing	5	section missing	2	1
	screen	screen				screen	

A painting of the same subject produced probably in the Yuan period by Wang Zhen Peng shows striking differences from the *PMB* version (*fig. 8*):²⁹ 1) scenes two and three are separated by two layers of screens; 2) the red-robed man has a beard; 3) modifications in the styles of the clothing, furniture, drapes and the bed.

Another imitation of the *PMB* version of the painting, deposited in the Museum of Chong Qing in China (Xu 1984: 161) and by an artist of the Ming period, has a different sequence of scenes:

29 Wang Zhen Peng (Yuan dynasty), scenes 2 and 3 of *Han's Night Banquet*. No details about the source are available. Harada 1936: 292.

元・王振鹏
字は明梅
永嘉の人
官は清澤千
戸に至つ
た。界畫を
善くして工
緻を極め。
仁之を奉愛
して孤雲處
士の號を賜
うた。論者
評して其畫
は纖細なれ
ども、格力
超越し、院
中人の及ぶ
所に非ずと
言つた。



8. Wang Zhen Peng (Yuan dynasty), *Han's Night Banquet*, scenes 2 and 3. – Photo after Harada 1959

1. PMB version:	5		4		3		2		1
2. Chong Qing copy:	5	3	2		(1/2 of 4)		1		(1/2 of 4)

Xu Bang Da mistakenly reported that a Japanese publication, *Zhi Na Ming Hua Bao Jian*, contains a painting of the same subject by a Yuan painter, Wang Zhen Peng, with no screens between the scenes.³⁰

4. The style of the painting

The style of the painting belongs to the academic tradition with its emphasis on chiseled fine lines and precise rendition of the object. Although the projection of the painter's own spirit (*shen, yun*) in the figure paintings had been important, and had been articulated during the Jin period (265–420), in Tang and Wu Dai paintings, we see that such an ideal was on equal terms with emphasis on the refinement in technical matters. Under the Northern Song emperor, Hui Zong, however, the detailed and accurate depiction of the appearance of objects were much preferred.³¹ This dichotomy between representational content (*xing*) and the painting's intended meaning (*yi*) was a noticeable feature in the development of Chinese painting.

In this painting, one can see, on the one hand, the emphasis on meticulously detailed depictions of the instruments, furniture and drinking vessels; and on the other hand, the dynamics in facial expressions, hand and body gestures, and spatial arrangements. It is arguable, however, that this painting, as it exhibits the traits of both the Wu Dai and the Song periods, is a Song recreation of the Wu Dai prototype.³²

30 Xu 1984: 161. The English title for *Zhi Na Ming Hua Bao Jian* is *The Pageant of Chinese Painting*; see the edition by Harada (1936). This anthology contains only a portion of the painting, but contrary to Xu Bang Da's observation, a screen which separates scenes two and three is clearly noticeable. Harada does not give the source of this version of the painting.

31 Hui Zong had himself dictated that the painters in his painting academy should follow his taste and style, and keep to realistic depictions of the subjects with an emphasis on lines and subtle coloring. He also supervised the entrance examination into the academy; see Swann n.d.: 76–7.

32 A prominent trait in Tang figure paintings is the "fat face", which is absent in Han Xi Zai's case in this painting. The Song painters preferred meticulous portrayal of the "beautiful beard". The dynamics in a figure's expression, body gesture, and the pleats in clothes were important to the late Tang and Wu Dai painters.

Xu Bang Da has observed that in comparison with the works by other painters of the Wu Dai period, especially those of Zhou Wen Ju, Wei Xian, and Zhao Gan, the sophistication of the painting technique for facial expression and the “close up” style of the painting of trees and stones on the screens in this work were much in line with the academic style of the Southern Song period (Xu 1984: 159). Xu also points out that the wine ewers depicted in this work resemble the kind of the same period unearthed in various regions (*figs. 9–11*; Chen 1980: 26–7; Weng and Yang 1982: 97).³³ Therefore, it is possible that a Wu Dai original painting of this subject had actually existed (Xu 1980: 26–7).

5. The musical genres

a) *The Liu Yao dance (scene 2, fig. 5)*

As mentioned earlier, among the music *cum* dance pieces for the concerts held in Han's house in the painting, *Liu Yao* or *Lu Yao* has been identified by Han's *Short Biography* and the poem at the end of the painting.³⁴

Yang Yin Liu describes *Liu Yao* as a multi-sectional composition for dance and song, a subcategory of the *Da Qu* or grand suite for song and dance of the Tang period (1981: I, 224–5). Here, Yang relies on two major sources: first, treatises concerning musical genres performed and practiced in the *Jiao Fang* institution, such as Cui Ling Qin's *Jiao Fang Ji* (1959) and Duan An Jie's *Yue Fu Za Lu* (1959); second, literary works by such renowned Tang poets as, Bai Ju Yi (772–846 A.D.), Wang Jian (*ca.* 767–831 A.D.), Yuan Zhen (779–831 A.D.), and a treatise by a Northern Song music historian, Wang Zhuo (Yang 1981: 224–5).

Yang describes the three-part structure of the *Da Qu* as follows (*ibidem*: I, 221):

I. Introduction:

Instrumentation: solos, or ensemble (not specified)

Rhythmic character: rubato, free rhythm with ritardando

II. Second Introduction: (features voice)

Instrumentation: not specified but with singing

Rhythmic character: regular beats, slow tempo later accelerando

Dance: optional

III. Main Section: (features dancing)

Instrumentation: not specified

Rhythmic character: from free rhythm to regular beats, tempo from slow to fast then slow again.

Voice: optional

7 Subsections:

a) free rhythm

b) free rhythm-regular pulse

c) moderately fast

d) accelerando

e) presto

f) ritardando

g) finale

33 These kinds of ewer of Ying Qing porcelain, produced in Jing De Zhen, were popular during the Northern Song period (see Chen 1980: III, 26–7). One cannot use the ewers as evidence, since there is no way of telling whether those depicted in the painting are products of the Wu Dai or the Northern Song periods. One type of Song ewer and that in the painting are quite similar.

34 Ban Wei Zhi's poem is dated as of the “year of *Tai Ding*” (see *figure 2*), that is 1326 AD.



9. Ewer from the Song dynasty. – Photo after Chen 1980

10. Ewer from the Song Dynasty. – Photo after Chen 1980

Cui Ling Qin classifies *Liu Yao* as *Ruan wu* [soft dance], as opposed to *Jian wu* [robust dance]. He distinguishes the two by the kind of clothes the dancers wear. For example, in performing the latter, women wear men's clothes (Ren 1962: 36–7 and 245). Yang Yin Liu, on the other hand, distinguishes the two by the tempo of the music, speed and character of dance steps, and the accompanying instruments (1981: 225). For the *Jian Wu* a fast tempo, masculine gestures, and large drum accompaniment are featured, whereas in the *Ruan Wu* or the *Liu Yao*, prominent *pipa* playing and the dancer's feminine body movement are distinguishing marks. As a sub-genre, the structure of both of these would follow the *Da Qu*'s tripartite form.

Yang comments specifically on the *Liu Yao* as seen in this particular painting. He writes:

It is said that there is a scene of informal house performance of the *Lu Yao* in "Picture of Han Xi Zai's Night Banquet" allegedly by the *Wu Dai* (907–960) painter Gu Hong Zhong. The dancer is Wang Wu Shan. She wears a narrow-sleeved garment with her back toward the viewer. She is making a left turn. Her right foot is about to step down. Her hands are about to make a larger gesture, moving far apart and making her long and narrow sleeves float. The accompaniment consists only of a large drum, a clapper and two hand-clappers. The *pipa* is absent. Thus the format of the informal house performance of this type of work does not follow its prescribed and fuller form.³⁵

Yang also cites Wang Zhuo's *Bi Ji Man Zhi* to give the reader an idea of the most famous section of the work, the *Hua Shi Ba Pai* [Eighteen Measures]. He says, "*Liu Yao* has a section called *hua shi ba pai*, i. e., eighteen measures or smaller sections plus four measures, altogether

35 Yang 1981: 225. My translation. Yang does not give references here; he simply states "It is said..."



11. Ewer from the Song dynasty. – Photo after Weng and Yang 1982

twenty-two measures [...] the meandering melodic phrase that delights the dancer to dance to it” (*ibidem*). In addition, a description of the virtuosic *pipa* playing for the first section of the *Liu Yao* by a well-known player, Tang Kun Lun, can be found in Duan An Jie’s book *Yue Fu Za Lu* (1959; cited in Yang 1981: 242).

Kishibe describes the banquet procedure of the first Song emperor, Tai Zu, in which the *Lu Yao* was performed with *zhong lu* and *nan lu* modes (1973: I, 688 and 723, *s.v.*). Both of these belong to the twenty-eight modes, which were used for entertainment music during the Sui, Tang, and Song periods.³⁶

The *zhong lu* mode, according to Shen Kuo, refers to the combination of the *yu* or *re* mode on the pitch *huang zhong*, and the *nan lu* mode, which, according to Tuo Tuo, in the Northern Song dynasty had a variant name as *gao ping diao*, is the combination of the *yu* or *re* mode on the pitch *gu xi*.³⁷ Cai Yuan Ding, a Northern Song theorist, believed that the temperament for the Sui, Tang and Song periods was a major second higher than that of the classical system,³⁸ and as a result of the new temperament, the meanings for the names of the scale degrees had changed.

36 For more on these modes, see Duan 1959; To-to [Tuo-Tuo] 1937; Wang 1967; Chang 1968. Hayashi 1936 and Pian 1967 are important contributions to our understanding of the development and the usage of these modes during the Sui, Tang and Song periods. Also see Wang 1967: 123 and 132; he cites Tuo Tuo’s *Song Shi* [History of the Song Dynasty] and Shen Kuo’s *Bu Bi Tan* [Additional Notes].

37 See Wang 1967: 123 and 135. Song and later scholars’ interpretations for the 28 *yan yue* modes are divided. The Qing theorist Ling Ting Kan views these modes as seven modes on four pitches, while the Song theorists, Shen Kuo, Cai Yuan Ding, and Chang Yan, hold that it was four modes on seven pitches (see Yang 1981: 428–40).

38 Assuming that pitch *huang zhong* coincides with pitch F in the classical system, in the new temperament, it would coincide with G.

Thus, in the new system, the name for the sixth scale degree in the *gong* mode, *yu* or *la*, had shifted a perfect fourth higher to the point where it was occupied by the second scale degree, *shang*, or *re* in the classical system (with A=440 Hz). According to Rulan Pian the proximate starting pitches for the *zhong lu* mode would be *d* and for the *nan lu* mode *f*#, the two modes being separated by a major third (1967: 51). She also pointed out that “during Song time *diaw* [*diao*] was used for the *sol* and *re* modes, *gong* for the *fa* modes and *jyue* [*jiao*] for the *la* modes” (*ibidem*). This observation suggests that to assume the *zhong lu* and *nan lu* modes or *diao* as based on the *re* mode is correct.

As this scene is a depiction of the *Liu Yao* dance, one cannot dismiss the possibility of the use of *pipa*. But since the instrument is not seen here, one deduces that this portrayal of the dance is the second or the last section of the tripartite form, in which the regular rhythm, marked by hand-clapping and the wood clapper, is a central element and in which *pipa* and singing are optional.

b) The wind ensemble (scene 4, fig. 6)

The wind ensemble in the fourth scene can be classified as one of the corresponding genres as described in *Tai Chang Si*'s [Ministry of Rites and Music] four categories of music.

Two types of music in the *Tai Chang* classification (Kishibe 1973: II, 690–5) are akin to this visual presentation. The first is *Qiu Ci Bu* [The Type from *Qiu Ci*]. Kishibe lists the instrumentation of the genre of different periods, namely the Tang and the late Song; he believes that the Song system followed the Tang model, except that the orchestra size was smaller (*ibidem*: 685). The orchestra of the *Qiu Ci* of the Tang period (618–907) required eighty-eight performers with three different kinds of drums, a small flute, large and small oboes (*bi li*), eight clappers, long and short vertical flutes (*xiao*), iron chimes (*fang xiang*), a large cymbal, and four shells (*bei*).

The orchestra of the *Qiu Ci* of the Song period (960–1279), on the other hand, was much smaller: it consisted of twenty-four performers with eight kinds of instrument: oboe, flute, five kinds of drum, and clapper. The combination of oboe, flute and clapper of the Song ensemble can be discerned in this particular scene.

The second type of instrumental ensemble described by Kishibe is *Gu Di Bu* [Drum and Flute Type]. In this ensemble, three kinds of instrument were required: flutes, drum and clapper (Kishibe 1973: 693). Yet the numbers can vary: one flute, one drum and one clapper; or two flutes, three drums and two clappers; or three flutes, and so on.

Ren Ban Tang has pointed out that in Han's epitaph, there is a mention of a type of music performed in Han's home, namely, the *Qing Shang Yue* or simply *Qing Shang*, a popular instrumental ensemble consisting of flute, mouth organ, chime, clapper, and drum.³⁹

On the basis of these materials, therefore, I suggest that the wind ensemble presented in the painting is a mixture of the *Qiu Ci* and *Gu Di* types. This modification of instrumentation was due to the informal nature of the music. This scene offers a glance at Han's house-music activities described on his tomb stone.

c) The pipa playing:

The major event in this scene is listening to Li's sister's *pipa* playing. This scene offers a rare view of solo *pipa* performance, a genre common during the Nan Tang and Song periods yet neglected by modern scholarship.

39 Ren 1962: 149. Ren quotes Xu Xuan, Han's contemporary, "At an old age, he [Han] still indulged himself, keeping the girls and playing the *Qing Shang* music."



12. A story teller playing the *shu gu*. Woodcut by an artist of the Yuan dynasty from *Shi Lin Guang Ji*. – Photo after Pian 1967

A Tang poet, Bai Ju Yi, in his famous poem *pipa Xing* describes the virtuosic playing technique of a female artist, and mentions that *Lu Yao* was among her repertoire (Bai 1978: II, 451–3). Duan An Jie also recorded a competition between two *pipa* virtuosi in his *Miscellaneous Records of the Music Bureau*.⁴⁰

By the Tang period, the *pipa* playing technique had already reached a high degree of artistic perfection, and the four-stringed instrument was already considered more of an indigenous instrument than its five-stringed counterpart (Kishibe 1965: 112).

Upon an examination of various historical writings concerning the *pipa*, one does not find, however, information about whether the soloist should be accompanied or not. In this scene, we see a clapper as an accompaniment. This implies that a regular meter is observed. Further, as clapper players often led ensembles and had a wide range of musical knowledge, they usually were leaders.⁴¹ In this instance, Li's clapper playing seems to be equally important as the solo *pipa*.

In this scene, a young man is holding a flute. It looks as if he cannot wait to play in the next "number". Also, the *shu gu* [drum for accompanying story-telling] by Han's bed indicates that there are more performances to follow. A comparative source for the *shu gu* is given in figure 12).⁴²

40 Yang 1981: 242. Yang describes monk Duan Shan Ben, who was in disguise as a woman, outplaying the famous *pipa* player Tang Kun Lun. Duan An Jie's description concerns the right-hand technique of Cao Gang and the left-hand technique of Pei Xing Nu, cited in Yang 1981: 243.

41 I owe this information to Kyle Heide, whose suggestion was based on his research in the *Nan Guan* music of the Tang period. Kishibe also suggested in 1965 that there is no Tang reference supporting such a view (1965: 110). However, he thinks that clapper players acting as leaders occur only after the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).

42 "A performance of story telling with *shu gu*", by an artist of the Yuan dynasty. From the *Shi Lin Guang Ji* (1330–33), edited by Chen Yuan Jing; see Pian 1967: pl. I. We see a story-teller playing the *shu gu* accompanied by a flute and a clapper for the football players (the Yuan nobility). The musical genre of story-telling can be traced back to as early as the Warring States period (770–221 B.C.). It became highly popular during the Tang period when there was an increased demand from the commoners, who with the economy flourishing had more leisure to enjoy entertainment. One should not therefore be surprised to see this art form portrayed in a Tang or Nan Tang context. Another picture of this drum is given in Wang 1967: 61, under the name of *long gu* [dragon drum]. The term *shu gu* is used here in accordance with the *Chinese Dictionary of Music* (Zhong Guo 1984: 360).

6. The Musicians, institutions, and their relation to the characters in the painting

During the Tang, and later, Song periods, professional musicians were classified according to their origin of birth (slaves, free men) and according to their playing techniques. For the female, physical beauty was also an important factor.

Male musicians, called *yue gong* [musical workers], were employed in the Ministry of Rites and Music. Female musicians were called *yue ji* [musical and dancing slaves]. These *yue ji* could be sold and given as gifts. They served in different capacities and were further classified as follows: serving the court was called *gong ji*; in an official's household, *guan ji*; with military officials, *ying ji*; and with noble families, *jia ji*.

Female musicians working at the Academy of Music and Dance were treated differently according to their rank. Four ranks were observable: 1) highest, *nei ren*, the best players and the prettiest; they served the emperor and were freer than the other three ranks; 2) next to the highest, *gong ren*; this class was to provide music for various occasions in the court; 3) the *chou tan jia*, who came as free-women but whose technique was bad; 4) at the bottom were the *za fu nu*, the worst players and the daughters of slaves.

Li's sister's status is difficult to determine since she was a relative of a musical official. Because she was invited to play for a musical connoisseur, she must have been an accomplished musician. Whether she had institutional affiliation or training is hard to say.

The highest musical administration was the *Tai Chang Si*, which also supervised state ceremonies. Its head was the *Tai Chang Qing*. There were musical scholars and specialists under him such as the *Tai Chang Go Shi* or the "Tai Chang Doctor". The red-robed man, Chen, as mentioned earlier, held such a title. These officials also had teaching obligations in the ministry. *Jiao Fang*, on the other hand, was a training institution as well as the purveyor of the *Su Yue* [Popular Music for the Court]. The *Jiao Fang* was a subordinate institution of the *Tai Chang Si*. The head of the *Jiao Fang* administration was usually a eunuch who had no knowledge of music. However, his deputy head was a music scholar and musician such as Li. The hierarchy between Li and Chen, therefore, is shown by the seating arrangement in the painting. Here the visual presentation substantiates written documents.

7. A comparison with other paintings

Sorting out the sources, determining the painting's origin, and correlating written material with visual presentation are important preparatory steps toward an iconological interpretation of the painting. In order to reach this goal, however, one must consider the intentions or tendencies in artistic creation, or in Panofsky's words, the "essential tendencies of the human mind" (1974: 41). Roland Barthes, in his analysis of the formation of myth, distances intention from the immediate causal relationship between signified and signifier. Barthes writes:

We now know that myth is a type of speech defined by its intention (I am a grammatical example) much more than by its literal sense (my name is lion); and that in spite of this, its intention is somehow frozen, purified, eternalized, *made absent* by this literal sense. [1957: 124]

He goes on to say

Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact. [*ibidem*: 143]

The meaning of visual presentations, like myth, tends to resist verbal definition, and its mythical quality, in my opinion, lies more in the general attitude toward the creation of the work than encoded petty secrets in the paintings. In other words, we have been looking at this painting at a rather close distance, and now we need to look at it at a greater distance and relate it to other, similar works.

Thus, we shall examine and compare three well-known paintings of the late Tang and perhaps the Ming period, with similar musical subject matter, i. e., showing the ruling class in music *He Yue Tu* [Musical Ensemble] (figs. 13 and 14), *Ming Huang and Yang Gui Fei Listening to Music* (figs. 15 and 16) and *Ming Huang Playing the Flute* (fig. 17).

He Yue Tu (figs. 13 and 14), attributed to Zhou Wen Ju, probably by a Ming artist,⁴³ depicts like Han's *Night Banquet* a house concert, but on a much larger scale; it presents a nineteen-piece orchestra. In addition to orchestral performance, a group of actors and actresses in costume is seen from both sides of the bed behind the screen. The floor is covered with exquisite carpets and the bed, in comparison to Han's, is much larger and more lavishly decorated. There are also elegant vases and antiques on display. All this suggests the wealth and the power of the main character, who in this painting is sitting alone on the bed. Although the resemblance in face and sitting posture between this man and Han is obvious, the painting styles, the depiction of the clothing, furniture, hair styles and the settings for the music performances of these two paintings are quite different; Zhou's is much in line with later styles, especially that of the Ming period.

The next painting to be examined is an anonymous work, *Ming Huang and Yang Gui Fei Listening to Music* (figs. 15 and 16).⁴⁴ This painting is a work of the Ming dynasty showing a subject of the Tang period. The seating of the orchestra is essentially the same as Zhou Wen Ju's *He Yue Tu*. In contrast to Gu's painting, which depicts smaller chamber ensembles, *He Yue Tu* and this painting provide a view of how the banquet music was actually performed at the royal and aristocratic courts. Again, like the portrait of Han, the main characters, Ming Huang and Yang Gui Fei, are separated from the other characters, not only by their prominent spacial position, but also by the enlargement of their heads. The enlargement of the heads of important figures and high officials was prevalent in many Tang paintings, especially those by Yan Li Ben, Zhou Fang and Ruan Gao. It remains to be seen, however, what the painters' actual models were for the features of these persons.

Ming Huang or Emperor *Tang Xuan Zong* (685–761) was known for his virtuosic *jie gu* [side-drum playing]. He was also known for his composition *Ni Shang Yu Yi* [The Iridescent Feather-like Robe] which includes song and dance in a mixture of Chinese and foreign, probably Indian, elements (see Yang 1981: 223). Ming Huang was a patron of music. In 714, he established the imperial conservatory of music, *Li Yuan* or "the Pear Garden" (Kishibe 1965: 111) and often mingled with the musicians there.

Ming Huang's loving concubine, Yang Gui Fei, was also famous for her musical abilities. According to the legend, she was an accomplished gong-chime (*fang xiang*) player, even surpassing the *Li Yuan* students. She was alleged to have danced Ming Huang's *Ni Shang Yu Yi* in front of the guests, and that pleased Ming Huang. In his earlier career, Ming Huang had been extremely successful politically. He was remembered for his musical talent as well.

43 Ink and color on silk, 16th century. 41.9 cm (h) : 184.2 cm (l). Chicago. The Art Institute. Kate S. Buckingham Purchase Fund, 1950.

44 *Ming Huang Gui Fei Ting Yue Tu*. Color and ink on silk scroll, 29.2 cm (h) : 132 cm (l). Worcester/MA, Worcester Art Museum. Kishibe 1965: 106–7.



13. Zhou Wen Ju, *He Yue Tu* [Musical Ensemble], left side. Chicago, The Art Institute, Kate S. Buckingham Purchase Fund. – Photo: Institute

The third painting, *Ming Huang Playing the Vertical Flute* (fig. 17), allegedly by Zhang Xuan (713–741), also depicts musical life at court.⁴⁵ In this picture, the emperor wears an undergarment in front of his servant girls; he has taken off one of his shoes and plays the vertical flute (*xiao*) with a smile on his face. He is accompanied by a girl's clapping.

The gestures of the clapping girl and the wine maid in this painting and those in the second and the third scenes of Han's *Night Banquet* seem to be based on the same type. This type cannot be found in Tang painters such as Zhou Fang, Wu Tao Zi, or Yan Li Ben. The lady sitting next to Ming Huang is being offered wine which shows that the two might be intimate. However, as to whether this is Yang Gui Fei, one can only speculate. Although the style of this work is close to that of Han's *Night Banquet*, it is, in my opinion, like the other two, not a genuine Tang work.

Ming Huang's life style had become a romantic model for the literary works of the time. The Tang poet Bai Ju Yi, in his *Chang Hen Ge* [Eternal Regret], wrote:

The palace of *Li* is so tall that it almost soars into the cloud. The divine music is floating on the wind everywhere. Slow singing and leisurely dance coagulate in the silk [string instr.] and bamboo [wind instr.]. Already, having listened to this music the whole day, the emperor still wanted more. [Bai 1978: II, 427–9; my translation]

The poem describes how music was important to the emperor, the mythic paragon for later generations of rulers.

From the central figures depicted in these paintings, such as Han and Ming Huang, one senses a basic attitude: a noble man should be carefree and not concerned with everyday existence. For those aristocrats with training in music, literature, painting and calligraphy, this was the prevailing world view. The constant pursuit of elegant taste (*ya*) thus was essential in the life style of this class, and this class's participation and control in musical practice boosts the aura of prestige for such a life style. The aristocracy's active involvement in painting and music during the Tang and Wu Dai periods has left us with numerous figure paintings rendering the details of life at courts.

45 *Ming Huang Chui Xiao Tu*. Color and ink on silk scroll, 29.5 cm (h) : 50 cm (l). Taipei Palace Museum. *Three Hundred Masterpieces* n.d.: 15.



14. Zhou Wen Ju, *He Yue Tu* [Musical Ensemble], right side. – Photo: Institute

Another important aspect of the Tang and Wu Dai cultures was the hierarchical relationship between the artistically inclined rulers and their servant artists. This relationship is evident in these paintings, in which the rulers often play protagonist roles and their performances are often accompanied by the slave musicians. Confined in imperial art institutions and affected by the lifestyles of the royal households, the court artists had very limited freedom in choosing subjects for their works; they had to follow their masters, to do what was “desirable”.

With this social and artistic distinction, musical performances by the ruling class and by slaves begin to mean different things to us. As a talented composer and skilled musician, Ming Huang’s musical accomplishments had set the standard for subsequent rulers. His authority in matters of taste was not to be challenged.

To the aristocracy and literati alike, this standard was the ideal which was created, legitimized and maintained through active participation in music.

Commenting on why and how the Chinese literati differentiated themselves from that of the professional musicians, James Watt wrote:

the Chinese literati assumed that if one was full of lofty thoughts, whether as a result of inborn genius or after having immersed oneself in the classics and literature, one was then capable of painting a nobler picture and playing music with greater refinement than the men without similar endowments or accomplishments. [Watt 1981: 39]

Ming Huang was the emperor. Yet he did not mind playing music with his subjects in *li yuans*. Similarly, Han would accompany his slaves on the drum, though as the drummer, he led the dancer and other accompanists.

8. Conclusions

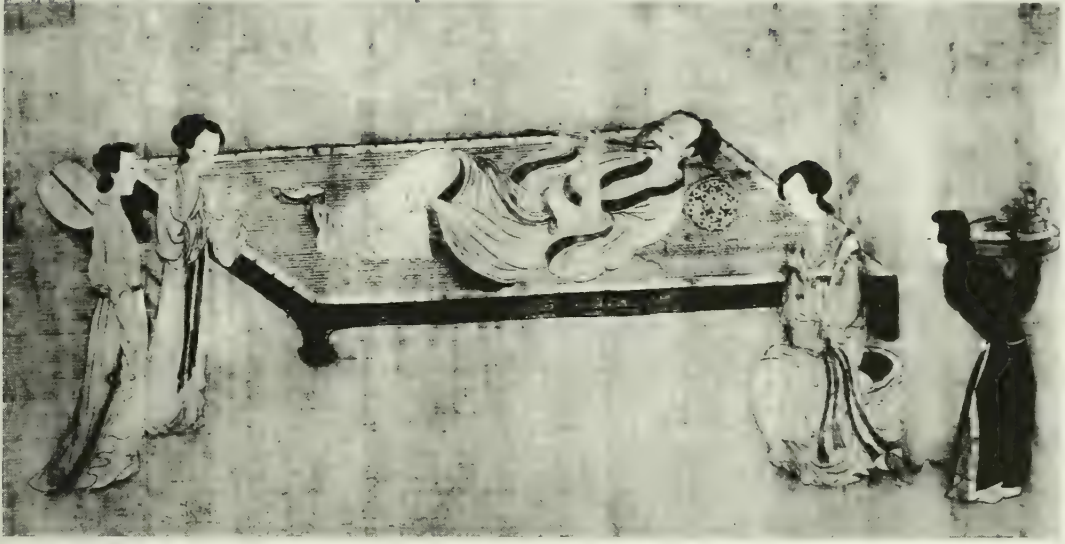
The genesis and stylistic features of the oldest surviving version (*PMB* version) of the painting suggest that this work was probably a Southern Song reproduction of the original which is irrevocably lost. Since the musical practice of the Song period generally followed that



15. Anonymous, *Ming Huang and Yang Gui Fei Listening to Music*, left side. Worcester/MA: Worcester Art Museum. – Photo after Kishibe 1965



16. Anonymous, *Ming Huang and Yang Gui Fei Listening to Music*, right side. – Photo after Kishibe 1965



17. Zhang Xuan, *Ming Huang Playing the Flute*. Taipei, Palace Museum. – Photo after *Three Hundred Masterpieces* n.d.

of the Tang period, and since we do not have a painting which depicts Song musical ensembles, we have to assume that this painting's depictions of the musical genres and of performance practice are based on the original, probably a Tang model.

The original painter's (perhaps Gu) realization of these practices in his painting, nevertheless, illustrates his familiarity with them, perhaps by repeated observation either in Han's household or the musical establishment of the court. In contrast to written commentaries stating that the purpose of the painting was to expose Han's unchaste life style, the patron is portrayed not as a rogue but as a dignified man; he always occupies spatially prominent positions and his body dwarfs the others. Han's personality and life style are not meant to be despised by the viewers of his time, but rather admired for his skill and accomplishment in literature and music.

The aristocracy's presence in music was prominent. Coupled with its international outlook, the banquet music of the Tang dynasty had almost become a commodity for the aristocracy, who not only actively engaged in musical composition and performances, but also patronized musical institutions. Under the sponsorship of the aristocracy, the Tang musical institutions had become ever more sophisticated, musical forms were classified with greater precision and performing techniques were highly developed. In this atmosphere, to be musical was a cultural attainment. This music took on different meanings from the music practiced by the professional slave musicians. Thus it would be fitting to say that the visual presentation of the ruling class in music illustrates the aptitude of this class and a class distinction in the practices of art and music. These lords were not simply passive viewers and listeners, but rather masters in these realms.

Appendix

Chinese Proper Names and Book Titles

Bai Ju Yi

Ban Wei Zhi

Bi Chen

Cai Tao, *Tie Wei Shan Cong Tan*

Cai Yuan Ding

Cao Gang

Chang Yen, *Tz'u Yuan*

Chen Yuan Jing, *Shi Lin Guang Ji*

Chen Zhi Yong

Cheng Yun Nan

Cui Ling Qin, *Jiao Fang Ji*

De Ming

Duan An Jie, *Yue Fu Za Lu*

Duan Shan Ben

Fu Kai Sen

Gao Zong

Gao Mu Sen

Gu Da Zhong

Gu Fu, *Ping Sheng Zhuang Guan*

Gu Hong Zhong

Guo Mao Qing, *Yue Fu Shi Ji*

Hui Zong (Zhao Kuang Ji)

Ji Yu Zhai Zhu Ren

Ji Xue Zhai Zhu Ren

Jing De Zhen

Lang Can

Li Jia Ming

Li Song

Li Yu

Ling Ting Kan

Mi Fu

Nan Zhuo, *Jie Gu Lu*

Nian Geng Yao

Ning Su

白居易

斑惟志

<<筆塵>>

蔡綠 <<鐵圍山叢談>>

蔡元定

曹綱

張炎 <<詞源>>

陳元靚 <<事林廣記>>

陳致雍

程雲南

崔令欽 <<教坊記>>

德明

段安節 <<樂府雜錄>>

段善本

福開森

高宗

高木森

顧大中

顧復 <<平生壯觀>>

顧宏中

郭茂清 <<樂府詩集>>

徽宗 (趙匡佶)

積玉齋主人

積雪齋主人

景德鎮

郎粲

李家明

李松

李煜

凌廷堪

米芾

南卓 <<羯鼓錄>>

年羹堯

凝酥

Oyang Xiu, *Xin Wu Dai Shi*

Pei Xing Nu

Qi Gong

Qian Long

Ren Ban Tang

Rong Bao Zhai

Ruan Gao

Shan Guo Qiang

Shen Kuo, *Meng Xi Bi Tan, Bu Bi Tan*

Shi Mi Yuan

Shi Qu Bao Ji Chu Bian

Shu Ya

Song Jing

Su Zhi

Sun Cheng Ze, *Geng Zi Xiao Xia Ji*

Tai Zu (Zhao Kuang Yin)

Tang Huo, *Hua Jian*

Tang Kun Lun

Tang Xuan Zong (Li Long Ji)

Tuo-tuo, *Song Shi*

Wang Chang Yuan (Peng Chong/Wen Sun)

Wang Duo

Wang Jian

Wang P'u, *Tang Hui Yao*

Wang Wu Shan

Wang Zhen Peng

Wang Zhuo, *Bi Ji Man Zhi*

Wei Xian

Wen Jia, *Qian Shan Tang Shu Hua Ji*

Wu Dao Zi

Wu Ren Chen, *Shi Guo Chun Qiu*

Xu Bang Da

Xu Tang Shu

Xu Xuan

Xuan He Hua Pu (XH)

Xue Ju Zheng, *Wu Dai Shi*

歐陽修 <<新五代史>>

裴興奴

啟功

乾隆

任半塘

榮寶齋

阮郃

單國強

沈括 <<夢溪筆談>><<補筆談>

史彌遠

<<石渠寶笈初編>>

舒雅

宋璟

素質

孫承澤 <<庚子消夏記>>

太祖 (趙匡胤)

湯屋 <<畫鑒>>

唐昆侖

唐玄宗 (李隆基)

托托 <<宋史>>

王長垣 (鵬翀/文孫)

王鐸

王建

王溥 <<唐會要>>

王屋山

王振鵬

王灼 <<碧鷄漫志>>

衛賢

文嘉 <<鈴山堂書畫集>>

吳道子

吳任臣 <<十國春秋>>

徐邦達

<<續唐書>>

徐鉉

<<宣和畫譜>>

薛巨正 <<五代史>>

Yan Li Ben
Yang Gui Fei (Yang Yu Huan)
Yang Yin Liu
Yuan Zhen
Zhang An Zhi
Zhang Xuan
Zhao Gan
Zhao Lan Po
Zhao Meng Fu
Zhao Zuo Cheng
Zhi Na Ming Hua Bao Jian
Zhou Fang
Zhou Wen Ju
Zhu Cun Li, *Tie Wang Shan Hu*
Zi Wei Zhu Xi

閻立本
楊貴妃 (楊玉環)
楊蔭瀏
元稹
張安治
張萱
趙干
趙蘭坡
趙孟頫
趙左丞
<<支那名畫寶鑒>>
周昉
周文矩
朱存理 <<鐵網珊瑚>>
紫微朱銑

Chinese Terms

Ba	跋
Bei	貝
Bi Li	篳篥
Chang Hen Ge	長恨歌
Chou Tan Jia	搗彈家
Da Gu	大鼓
Da Qu	大曲
Di Zi	笛子
Diaw [Diao]	調
Fang Xiang	方響
Gao Ping Diao	高平調
Gong	宮
Gong Ji	宮妓
Gong Ren	宮人
Gu Di Bu	鼓笛部
Gu Xi	姑洗
Guan Ji	官妓
Guan Wu	觀舞
Han Xi Zai Xiao Zhuan	韓熙載小傳
Han Xi Zai Zong Yue Tu	韓熙載縱樂圖
He Yue Tu	合樂圖
Hua Shi Ba Pai	花十八拍
Huang Zhong	黃鐘
Jia Ji	家妓
Jian Wu	健舞
Jie Gu	羯鼓
Jyue [Jiao]	角
Li Yuan	梨園
Liu Yao	六幺
Long Gu	龍鼓
Lu Yao	綠腰
Nan Guan	南管
Nan Lu	南呂
Nan Zhuang Tu	南莊圖
Nei Ren	內人

Ni Shang Yu Yi	霓裳羽衣
Qing Chui	清吹
Qing Shang Yue	清商樂
Qiu Ci Bu	龜茲部
Ruan Wu	軟舞
Shang	商
Shao Xun	韶勛
Shen	神
Shu Gu	書鼓
Song Bie	送別
Su Yue	俗樂
Tai Chang Bo Shi	太常博士
Tai Chang Si	太常寺
Ting Yue	聽樂
Xiao	簫
Xing	形
Xiu Xi	休息
Ya	雅
Yan Yue	燕樂
Yi	意
Ying Ji	營妓
Ying Qing	影清
Yu	羽
Yue Gong	樂工
Yue Ji	樂妓
Yun	韻
Za Fu Nu	雜婦女
Zhong Lu	中呂
Zhong Shu Shi Lang	中書侍郎

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Mania e musica nella pittura vascolare apula*

Febo Guizzi e Nico Staiti

Si è da più parti affermato che l'esiguità delle testimonianze letterarie sulla *mania* telestica è dovuta soprattutto alla estrema familiarità e alla diffusa conoscenza che il mondo antico aveva di essa (Jeanmaire 1972: 77; Rouget 1986: 258). Le più cospicue testimonianze relative alla possessione musicale nel mondo antico ci provengono dalle arti visive e, soprattutto, dalla pittura vascolare, in particolare del V e del IV secolo.¹ La pittura vascolare però non intende e non può documentare fedelmente e in maniera neutrale i riti della *mania*: perché di questi riti lo stesso vaso dipinto è, come si vedrà meglio oltre, strumento ed emblema. Esso riferisce degli oggetti raffigurati in maniera parziale, soggettiva e discontinua; rimanda anch'esso, sia pure in maniera assai diversa dalle fonti letterarie, alla familiarità che chi vedeva quelle pitture doveva avere con le scene in esse illustrate.

Queste immagini, dunque, vanno interpretate a partire dalla loro funzione all'interno dei riti in esse illustrati, e con la consapevolezza che in esse la registrazione della realtà apparente si sovrappone alla rappresentazione mitologica e alla proiezione fantastica del vissuto dei posseduti, degli officianti, degli astanti. Che la realtà illustrata, in altre parole, non è quella sensibile e materiale degli avvenimenti registrati, ma quella dello svolgersi del rito così come esso veniva vissuto da chi vi partecipava.² I demoni, gli eros, i sileni, le divinità che convivono sulla medesima

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1 Per un breve profilo della storia delle immagini di *mania* telestica e dell'immagine della menade vedi Jeanmaire 1972: 160–4. Vedi anche Séchan 1930, Berti e Restani 1988, Berti e Gasparri 1989.

2 Qui ci occupiamo della rappresentazione visiva, pittorica, realizzata con mezzi artistici, di fenomeni che a loro volta hanno a che fare con il mito, i riti, e con una zona recondita e a volte inquietante dell'esperienza psicologica e culturale degli uomini dell'antica Grecia. Di primo acchito, la raffigurazione rinvia al rapporto che siamo abituati ad intrattenere con un'idea del mondo classico in cui risaltano il fulgore di una cultura e il nitore di un'umanità che si pongono alla base di quello che per molti è l'edificio stesso della civiltà. Ma la realtà cui le raffigurazioni (almeno quelle che qui ci interessano) fanno riferimento sembra in qualche modo contraddire l'idea luminosa di una Grecia sobria, razionale ed evoluta, per contrapporvi una visione notturna, fosca e conturbante di un torbido mondo arcaico. Ma esiste una considerazione del mondo culturale della Grecia classica — la cui affermazione non è certo una nostra scoperta — all'interno della quale, in verità, le due visioni contrapposte di cui sopra si presentano come due facce complementari di una stessa realtà, nel cui rapporto, peraltro, come spesso avviene, il volto meno fulgido appare come quello che, essendo rivelatore delle radici più profonde, contribuisce in modo, per l'appunto, più “radicale” a definire l'identità complessiva. Se sentiamo qui l'esigenza di ribadire questo punto, è perché un sentore di più rigida difesa unilaterale dell'immagine “apollinea” del mondo greco ci sembra sia avvertibile in alcuni ambienti delle discipline storico-artistiche che di questa parte del mondo si occupano: speriamo pertanto che non sia inutile dichiarare in modo manifesto ciò che è poi ovviamente evidente nelle nostre argomentazioni, e cioè che, nel nostro piccolo, ci schieriamo completamente con quella parte della *Altertumswissenschaft* che ritiene il mondo greco non separabile dal complesso delle culture mediterranee, né isolabile da radici culturali che affondano nel terreno più arcaico, sino alla preistoria; che considera poi il mito una realtà non ascrivibile solo al lavoro letterario dei poeti, e il rito un'azione paradigmatica che si intreccia con il mito e si chiarisce nel rapporto con esso; che, infine, non accorpa l'intera e complessa vicenda delle popolazioni di cultura greca in un'unica “epifania dello Spirito”, indipendente dalle mutazioni temporali e dalle differenziazioni spaziali geografiche: e che dunque considera con attenzione la specificità di segmenti “locali” della cultura greca, alla luce delle possibili “contami-

superficie illustrata con le donne e i fanciulli che partecipavano a quei riti sono, si può ritenere, oggettivazioni degli spiriti che possiedono i partecipanti al rito o traduzioni in termini realistici dei travestimenti indossati dai partecipanti stessi.³ E la loro traduzione in immagini, il modo in cui questi personaggi fantastici si vengono caratterizzando nella pittura vascolare e in cui si assestano come figure stereotipe appartiene in maniera pressoché esclusiva alla storia delle arti figurative, nella quale solo in parte e in una fase successiva a quella della loro creazione interviene l'apporto della tradizione teatrale.⁴

La decrittazione dei diversi livelli rappresentativi che compongono queste immagini non può perciò esser condotta che in via congetturale, anche attraverso l'esperienza e l'analisi di fenomeni di possessione musicale ancora esistenti e in parte almeno confrontabili con le pratiche della *mania* teletica, e delle immagini che le culture all'interno delle quali si sviluppano questi fenomeni di essi hanno prodotto: e non a caso le più recenti e le più approfondite analisi della *mania* teletica sono state condotte parallelamente ad indagini etnologiche su altri riti di possessione quali il *bori* e lo *zar* dei paesi islamici dell'Africa del nord, il *vodun* del Benin, il *candomblé* del Brasile, e, soprattutto, il tarantismo, diffuso dal medioevo e fino al nostro secolo in Italia meridionale, con epicentro del fenomeno in Puglia, nella zona del Salento.⁵

Il tentativo che intendiamo condurre in questa sede è quello dell'interpretazione di un particolare *corpus* di pitture vascolari — quelle apule della fine del V e del IV secolo a. C. — alla luce della conoscenza dei riti del tarantismo.

I fenomeni di *mania* teletica, legati al culto di Dioniso o a quello di Rea e dei Coribanti, sembra fossero diffusi in tutta l'area d'influenza della cultura greca, ivi inclusa, naturalmente, la

nazioni" con popolazioni autoctone delle regioni colonizzate. Ci piace riassumere il senso più generale di queste affermazioni usando una felice formula di uno degli studiosi che maggiormente hanno contribuito a fare chiarezza in questo campo, coniugando antropologia e storia delle religioni, mitografia filologica e metodo strutturale, e cioè Walter Burkert: "i Greci possono, a ragione, sostenere di rappresentare il punto più avanzato tra le società arcaiche, e il più arcaico tra quelle avanzate" (1992: VII).

- 3 A proposito dei travestimenti nei riti della *mania* teletica vedi Rouget 1986: 286—8. Sono esempio significativo dei problemi posti dalle immagini di divinità e figure fantastiche all'interno delle raffigurazioni di riti di possessione queste osservazioni di Gilbert Rouget (1986: 286—7): "Imitare attraverso la mimica "Ninfe, Pan, Sileni e Satiri" è per Platone (*Leggi* 815c) la definizione stessa della "danza bacchica". Una celebre coppa appartenente all'epoca delle guerre persiane rappresenta Dioniso Bacco come un personaggio vestito, pettinato e agghindato, che suona la lira, danza, con la testa gettata all'indietro nell'atteggiamento caratteristico della trance e con accanto due Baccanti nudi e titubanti. E' il dio stesso ad essere raffigurato? o si tratta di un Baccante, un ἑξαρχος in questo caso? Se così fosse, significherebbe che si imitava anche Dioniso danzante. Ma non sempre questi veniva rappresentato sotto il suo aspetto umano e, se non ad Atene, quanto meno in Tracia è attestato che, in certe cerimonie, alcuni «si mettevano delle corna di bue per imitare Dioniso-toro» (Pearson 1918: 127). La pantera — altra belva — era anch'essa oggetto di imitazione mediante la danza." Con riferimento allo stesso testo platonico, Burkert (1991: 30) accentua l'elemento del travestimento vero e proprio, dal momento che, egli afferma: "«Teletai e purificazioni» sono praticate da persone mascherate da Ninfe, Pan, Sileni e Satiri, secondo l'esposizione di Platone nelle *Leggi*."
- 4 Scrive Henri Jeanmaire a proposito della figura del satiro e della sua evoluzione in ragione dell'apporto della tradizione teatrale (1972: 279): "Il tipo del satiro dai pronunciati tratti animaleschi appare nei monumenti, sui vasi e su certe monete di Taso e di alcune città della Macedonia verso il 600, senza una qualche relazione costante con Dioniso; gli zoccoli animaleschi scompaiono verso la fine del VI secolo, prova evidente che l'artista, invece di rappresentare esseri affatto immaginari, cominciò ad ispirarsi a travestimenti del genere di quelli che saranno prodotti dal teatro." E ancora, a proposito della presenza di questi esseri nelle raffigurazioni di scene di *mania* teletica e della convivenza in esse di personaggi reali e fantastici (*ibidem*: 291): "Abbiamo già escluso l'idea che, a prescindere dallo sviluppo più recente che poterono avere le celebrazioni di certe congregazioni dionisiache, i baccanti si travestissero assumendo le forme in cui furono rappresentati i satiri e i sileni. Tutto fa pensare che nelle scene in questione, ma anche nei gruppi improntati soltanto dal simbolismo dionisiaco, si tratti piuttosto di personaggi mitologici, fantastici, irreali nel senso comune, ritratti dagli artisti della ceramica nell'atto di ballare o, più esattamente, di far ballare certe figure femminili. Il carattere di queste figure è più ambiguo. Gli atteggiamenti, il costume e gli attributi, che sono visibilmente gli stessi delle raffigurazioni a carattere realistico delle menadi, lasciano facilmente riconoscere l'intenzione di ritrarre autentiche baccanti nell'esercizio delle loro pratiche "orgiastiche"."
- 5 Vedi soprattutto Jeanmaire 1972; De Martino 1961; Rouget 1986.

Magna Graecia (vedi Jeanmaire 1972: 426–78). Va ricordato d'altra parte che questa catartica musicale sia come pratica religiosa che come elaborazione teorica ebbe nella Magna Graecia, com'è noto, la sua patria elettiva, esercitando influenze importanti sullo stesso pensiero di Platone e di Aristotele. I pitagorici furono non solo teorici della efficacia risanatrice della musica, ma essi stessi catarti operanti. Pitagora praticava la musica risanatrice, e così pure la praticavano i tarantini Archita, Aristosseno e Clinia. Da Aristosseno musico si recavano per farsi guarire coloro che erano affetti da sciatica e da "morbo sacro". Con la musica Aristosseno curava anche l'eccitazione provocata dal vino. (De Martino 1961: 225).

Dionysos era il dio più importante della regione tarantina (vedi *ibidem*: 226), e in Apulia in particolare, dove dalla fine del V e per tutto il IV secolo è attestata una intensa attività di ceramisti locali, le raffigurazioni di menadi in preda al "furore" e di scene dionisiache sembrano assumere una particolare importanza: la quasi totalità delle scene illustrate sui vasi di produzione apula contiene illustrazioni di orgie dionisiache e di menadi danzanti.⁶ La pittura vascolare apula, che pure ricava i suoi modelli dalla più antica e più sviluppata produzione attica (vedi Trendall e Cambitoglou: 1978: li–liv e 4), assume ben presto caratteri propri, sviluppando autonomamente alcuni temi iconografici e qualificandosi come il prodotto in parte almeno culturalmente indipendente di un'area nella quale elementi d'importazione attica vengono elaborati secondo procedimenti originali, forse dovuti anche a sincretismi con le culture locali. Scrive a tal proposito Burkert (1991: 34) con espresso riferimento alla pittura vascolare apula:

È possibile osservare i misteri dionisiaci svilupparsi specialmente in Italia come una sorta di culto analogo ai riti eleusini. Si osserva un elaborato simbolismo di carattere bacchico fiorire sui vasi provenienti dall'Italia meridionale del quarto secolo, e diffondersi anche nel mondo etrusco e italico. In epoca più tarda, l'iconografia bacchica continua ad adornare varie specie di monumenti funerari, edicole, steli, e altari, fino alla sua estrema fioritura nell'arte dei sarcofagi. (...) In questo genere di arte funeraria i riferimenti all'estasi bacchica sono costanti, soprattutto nella comparsa ricorrente del *tympanon* e dei *kymbala* delle menadi.

Gli oggetti legati alla raffigurazione dei riti telestici, i drappi appesi sullo scenario del rito o legati ai tirsi, le pelli ferine drappeggiate addosso ai sileni o alle menadi in delirio, i sistri a forma di scaletta (Lepore 1991), i pampini di vite, i bastoni ornati di fronde, le spighe sembrano essere sopravvissuti come emblemi della *mania* anche in epoca tardo romana e nei primi secoli che seguono l'avvento del cristianesimo (vedi Jeanmaire 1972: 449–78): il dionisismo e le pratiche legate al culto dei Coribanti, sebbene avversati dai primi polemisti cristiani, dovettero dar luogo, quantomeno a livello popolare e in aree periferiche della romanità, a sincretismi con la nuova religione cristiana.⁷

Da questi sincretismi, è lecito ritenere, si origina il tarantismo, che si qualifica come fenomeno originale ed autonomo, nato nel Medioevo dallo scontro tra civiltà antiche, avvento del cristianesimo e apporto culturale dell'Islam (vedi De Martino 1961: 229), e che ha come antecedenti storici i riti di *mania* telestica.⁸ Taranto, la città il cui nome è etimologicamente legato alla

6 Si legge peraltro in Trendall e Cambitoglou 1978: li: "Dionysiac themes predominate, for Dionysos is god not only of wine, but also of drama — myth performed in his honour — and of the mysteries which promise their initiates a better life in the hereafter". Per quanto riguarda più in generale i temi iconografici nella pittura vascolare dell'Italia meridionale e della Sicilia vedi Trendall 1989: 255–68.

7 Peraltro, scrive Henri Jeanmaire (Jeanmaire 1972: 475), "il cristianesimo, a partire da quello delle catacombe, non sentì nessun disagio nel far sua tutta una parte del repertorio di quei simboli dionisiaci che per gli Antichi alludevano ad una beatitudine che sarebbe durata nell'aldilà, in particolare il simbolo della vite e del banchetto degli eletti."

8 Vedi De Martino 1961: 199: "dobbiamo ora volgerci agli antecedenti classici del tarantismo pugliese, cioè a quei suoi aspetti che trovano riscontro nella vita religiosa greca, di cui l'Apulia fu, come parte della Magna Graecia,

tarantella e al *tarantismo*,⁹ fu uno dei centri di origine del movimento bacchico del II secolo, che si irradiò in tutta l'Apulia e oltre (*ibidem*: 226). Ernesto De Martino compendia così le proprie considerazioni sul tarantismo come fenomeno autonomo, distinto tanto da forme di *trance* guidata dalla musica diffuse in altre parti d'Europa nel Medioevo quanto dai suoi antecedenti storici:

Di fronte alle cosiddette «epidemie coreutiche» dell'Europa Settentrionale il tarantismo pugliese si individua dunque con caratteri suoi propri di plasmazione culturale, cioè come istituto magico-religioso che trasse uno dei suoi stimoli da reali episodi di aracnidismo diffusi nella regione, ma che elaborò il suo simbolo con relativa autonomia culturale, stringendo in una nuova unità funzionale elementi provenienti dalla civiltà religiosa della Magna Graecia, quali il simbolismo dell'*oistros* e dell'*aiôresis*, dell'albero e delle acque, dello specchio e della spada, e soprattutto la tradizione della catartica musicale. Se il periodo da maggio ad agosto, e soprattutto il mese di giugno, diventò l'epoca calendariale eletta per l'insorgenza della crisi e per l'esecuzione del rito, ciò fu dovuto al concorso di diverse circostanze, come la disarticolazione delle antiche feste pagane connesse al risveglio primaverile e al periodo del raccolto, la maggiore frequenza di casi di aracnidismo durante i mesi estivi in connessione alla aumentata esposizione al morso e alla maggiore aggressività degli aracnidi, la influenza infine delle feste cristiane che si erano sostituite a quelle pagane nello stesso periodo stagionale e che in parte erano predestinate a raccogliere la eredità funzionale. In questa il tarantismo pugliese si ricongiunge variamente al simbolismo medievale, particolarmente al tema letterario dell'amore precluso celebrato nel *locus amoenus* dell'albero e della fonte, alle "offerte musicali" per le "purghe" primaverili o in occasione di malattie, al rapporto *veneficium-maleficium* della letteratura *de venenis*: e, potremmo aggiungere, al simbolismo dello specchio così diffuso, com'è noto, nel Medioevo. Il livello di complessità e di significato su cui si muove il tarantismo pugliese è senza dubbio molto più basso dei corrispondenti motivi colti: tuttavia, al suo livello, esso mostra una nota originale, che lo qualifica come formazione religiosa minore, geograficamente circoscritta, maturata e funzionante soprattutto nel regime di esistenza del mondo contadino. [1961: 240–1]

Clemente Alessandrino, apologeta cristiano del II secolo d.C., lamentando il perseverare delle pratiche di *mania* teletica elenca gli emblemi dei riti di possessione (*Protrettico*, II, 17–8):

in vista di una condanna, non è inutile esporre gli inutili simboli di questa vostra iniziazione: astragalo, palla, trottola, mele, tamburello, specchio, vello. [Cit. Berti e Gasparri 1989: 185]

Questa elencazione dei simboli che appartengono alle pratiche coribantiche nell'Italia del II secolo d. C. trova corrispondenze nella pittura vascolare del V e del IV secolo a. C., oltre che in simili elencazioni compilate, dal XV secolo in avanti, da eruditi, cronisti e viaggiatori che ebbero modo di osservare in Puglia le pratiche del tarantismo:¹⁰ le terapie coreutico-musicali cioè nel corso delle quali le persone (prevalentemente donne) che — simbolicamente morse da un mitico ragno, la *tarantola* — vengono colte da crisi maniaco-depressive che le sprofondano in uno stato di noia catatonica, dal quale si risvegliano solo al suono di una determinata musica, alla quale sia sensibile il ragno che si è impossessato della persona (*fig. 1*). Il ragno, così, danza (e con esso danza il corpo in cui è penetrato) fino alla morte della *tarantola* e all'espulsione del suo veleno dal corpo del posseduto. Scrive De Martino

una provincia culturale. Simbolismo del morso, scenario arboreo e acquatico del rito, altalena, specchio, spada e catartica coreutico-musicale si ritrovano nel mondo religioso greco secondo strutture mitico-rituali e funzioni esistenziali analoghe, che richiamano quelle del tarantismo e che, rispetto ad esso, stanno come antecedenti storici."

9 Si legge in De Martino 1961: 229: "Quanto alla voce *taranta*, al diminutivo *tarantula* (a cui risalgono tutti i continuatori romanzi indicanti probabilmente diverse varietà di ragni) e all'altro più tardo e popolare diminutivo *tarantella*, tutto ciò che si può ragionevolmente dire dal punto di vista etimologico è la connessione di *taranta* con *Taranto*".

10 Per una trattazione delle fonti letterarie relative al tarantismo si rimanda a De Martino 1961.



1. Nardò (Lecce), 1959, terapia coreutico-musicale del tarantismo. – Foto: Franco Pinna

Per far “crepare” o “schiattare” la taranta occorre soprattutto mimare la danza del piccolo ragno, cioè la tarantella: occorre cioè danzare col ragno, essere anzi lo stesso ragno che danza, secondo una irresistibile identificazione: ma, al tempo stesso, occorre far valere un momento più propriamente agonistico, cioè il sovrapporre ed imporre il proprio ritmo coreutico a quello del ragno, costringere il ragno a danzare sino a stancarlo, inseguirlo fuggente davanti al piede che percuote violentemente il suolo al ritmo della tarantella. Il tarantato esegue la danza della piccola taranta (la tarantella) come vittima posseduta della bestia e come eroe che piega la bestia danzandola: la compie nella tensione di “identificazione” e “distacco agonistico”, di “lasciarsi andare” e “riprendersi”, di “farsi ragno” e “danzare il ragno”. [1961: 62–3]

Le crisi nei tarantati si manifestano stagionalmente, con regolarità, in estate, anche per parecchi anni di seguito: è sufficiente, nella maggior parte dei casi, un unico “morso” a giustificare l’insorgere di tutte le crisi stagionali che seguono la prima manifestazione: il che, di per sé, basta a render conto del valore squisitamente simbolico del “morso” e del carattere iniziatico del rito (De Martino 1961: 88–100). Esistono, nella mitologia pugliese, vari tipi di tarantola, di diversa forma, dimensione, colore, con diverso carattere: triste, allegro, battagliero, dispettoso, erotico (*ibidem*: 62 e 172). Ciascuna tarantola è — nei resoconti letterari fino al secolo scorso — stimolata da una musica diversa. Ce ne dà notizia già il più antico documento conosciuto relativo al tarantismo: il *Sertum papale de venenis* (Ms. Lat. Barberini: 306), attribuito a Guglielmo Marra di Padova, datato probabilmente al 1362:

Per quale ragione coloro che son morsi dalla *tarantula* trovano prodigioso ristoro in canzoni e melodie diverse? [...] coloro che son morsi dalla *tarantula* traggono massimo diletto da questa o da quella musica, per esempio della cetra, e soprattutto della melodia chiamata *pelandra*; mentre altri si com-

piacciono del suono del *lepote* e soprattutto dell'aria chiamata *Dama di Provenza*, e così via per gli altri strumenti musicali, melodie e canti. Di guisa che quando odono accordi di suoni o di canti che a loro son graditi, se ne rallegrano nell'anima, e poiché l'allegrezza è per tal morbo medicina eccellente, essi si riprendono e ritornano in vita. [cit. De Martino 1961: 136–7]

Ha scritto l'erudito napoletano Alessandro d'Alessandro, che verso la fine del '400 o i primi due decenni del '500 ha osservato un caso di tarantismo in Puglia:

I morsi dalla taranta, o dal falangio, chiamati dal volgo tarantati, abbiám visto guarire dall'equivoco morbo nel modo seguente: il suonatore di cornamusa o di cetra suona loro diversi motivi in rapporto alla qualità del veleno, di guisa che essendo essi rapiti dall'armonia e fascinati da ciò che ascoltano, quel veleno o disciolto nell'interno del corpo si disperde, ovvero lentamente si viene eliminando per le vene. [D'Alessandro 1549: lib. II, c. 17, p. 212]

Nel XVIII secolo un'annotazione del medico Giorgio Baglivi fornisce una conferma all'informazione trasmessa da d'Alessandro:

Chiamati i suonatori, essi chiesero alla paziente quale colore e grandezza avesse la taranta, e ciò per adattare la musica: ma la paziente rispose di non sapere se era stata morsa da una taranta o da uno scorpione. Cominciarono le prove, e alla quarta subito la tarantata cominciò a sospirare e infine non resistendo all'impulso del ballo, sciolti i vincoli della verecondia, saltò quasi nuda giù dal letto, e per tre giorni gagliardamente danzò, risanando.¹¹

“Ancora nel 1876 un erudito salentino, il De Simone, trovò a Novoli dodici diversi motivi di tarantella con cui si esploravano i tarantati per stabilire quale si confacesse al caso, cioè scatenasse la danza” (De Martino 1961: 147, con rif. a De Simone 1876: 342 e 347). Anche la scelta degli strumenti musicali utilizzati per l'esecuzione delle musiche terapeutiche, come si legge già nel *Sertum papale de venenis* e come è riferito ancora da Padre Athanasius Kircher, era determinata dal tipo di tarantola che avesse morso il posseduto (Kircher 1650: 218–9). Ad Ostuni (BR), dove una recente ricerca sul campo¹² ha permesso di conoscere una pratica di tarantismo non del tutto assimilabile a quelle salentine indagate da De Martino, esistevano orchestre di varia composizione, destinate verosimilmente a diverse rappresentazioni coreutiche: all'organico tradizionale del Salento con violino e tamburello si affiancava una coppia di suonatori di fiffaro e tamburo a bandoliera, strumenti utili all'esecuzione di danze armate. Secondo il naturalista Paolo Boccone (1697: 101):

Due sonate amano i tarantolati, una è la tarantella, e l'altra è la pastorale: l'una e l'altra viene variata da' suonatori, secondo le cadenze, maniere e lettere. Gli strumenti che accompagnano il ballo de' tarantolati sono la chitarra, il violino e il cembalo, con quelle campane di latta bianca o gialla, chiamata da' siciliani tamburello.

E il Boccone sostiene anche che coloro i quali erano morsi da scorpioni venivano curati con le musiche usate anche per i morsicati dalla tarantola, ma eseguite da altri strumenti (*ibidem*: 102):

cioè dalla zampogna, fistula, musetta de' francesi, ciaramelli de' siciliani, e da tamburo bellico toccato rozzamente da uno che lo percuote di sopra e di sotto con delle mazze.

È interessante notare come ancor oggi, sebbene sia sopravvissuto un unico modello musicale di tarantella terapeutica, venga comunque osservato, all'inizio della cerimonia, un rituale nel

11 Baglivi 1754: 315. Si fa menzione della varietà di musiche somministrati anche nelle *Centum historiae seu observationes* di Epifanio Ferdinando (Ferdinando 1621: 258).

12 Condotta da Nico Staiti nel 1993. I suonatori, tuttora attivi in altre occasioni rituali e festive, riferiscono di pratiche non più in uso dagli anni '50 di questo secolo, alle quali peraltro hanno direttamente partecipato.

corso del quale la medesima melodia viene più volte proposta al posseduto, fino a quando essa non susciti qualche reazione visibile:¹³ l'idea della pluralità delle musiche sopravvive alle musiche stesse, a ribadire la necessità, da parte del posseduto, di ritagliarsi, all'interno delle possibili pratiche coreutiche formalizzate, una possibilità di rappresentazione individuale del proprio vissuto personale.

Nel passo dello *Ione* in cui Platone, il quale in più occasioni (*Fedro*, *Leggi*, *Ione*, *Repubblica*, *Eutidemo*) si è occupato della *mania* telestica,¹⁴ affronta il problema della possessione guidata dalla musica, si ritrova un'osservazione assai simile a quelle relative al tarantismo ricordate sopra (*Ione*, 536b):

gli agitati dal furore coribantico sono sensibili solo al canto di quel dio da cui sono posseduti e per quel canto sanno avere abbondanza di figurati atteggiamenti, abbondanza di eloquio, mentre degli altri non si curano affatto.

Osserva Gilbert Rouget come nella *mania* telestica della Grecia antica la musica — “in quanto segnale della *trance* e, nel contempo, supporto della danza” (1986: 281) — abbia il ruolo essenziale di consentire l'identificazione pubblica del posseduto con il dio che lo possiede¹⁵ (e, nel caso del tarantismo, con la *tarantola*, zoomorfizzazione astratta di molteplici *daimones* dalle caratteristiche variabili).¹⁶ Il rito coreutico-musicale, sia nel caso della *mania* telestica che nel tarantismo, non è immediatamente manifestazione della “malattia” del posseduto, ma è terapia necessaria all'espulsione dei “veleni” e al ripristino di uno stato di normalità:¹⁷ è attraverso la loro rappresentazione danzata che le tensioni, le angosce, le frustrazioni del quotidiano vengono risolte o quantomeno ricondotte a limiti di tollerabilità. Nel II secolo d. C. Aristide Quintiliano ha osservato (*Sulla musica*, III, 25):

Si è che, come si dice, le pratiche bacchiche, ed altre consimili, hanno qualcosa in comune con la ragione, dato che esse purificano le persone incolte dall'angoscia nelle traversie della vita e della sorte mediante le melodie, le danze e i giochi che esse comprendono.

13 Si legge in De Martino 1961: 64: “il piano tradizionale di comportamenti incluso nel tarantismo prevede che un'orchestrina si porti presso il tarantato inerte e inizi una esplorazione musicale per definire la musica “giusta”, cioè quella della taranta in causa; sarà “giusta” la musica che fa *scazzicare* [cioè: che stimola] il tarantato, ma secondo i modi del rito, cioè abbandonando lo stato di inerzia e piegando l'agitazione psicomotoria nel ritmo della musica e nelle figure della danza.” Diego Carpitella ha scritto nel saggio “L'esorcismo coreutico-musicale del tarantismo” pubblicato in appendice al volume di De Martino (De Martino 1961: 351): “La tonalità delle iatromusiche da noi registrate sia nel corso della cura domiciliare che mediante ricostruzione sono *la maggiore, re maggiore, si minore, la minore*: secondo quanto riferiscono i suonatori, i singoli tarantati sono stimolati alla danza solo da una di queste tonalità, mentre restano insensibili alle altre: il che rientrerebbe nel fenomeno, largamente attestato dalla letteratura diacronica sul tarantismo, della elettività dei singoli tarantati per particolari musiche, nel quadro del patrimonio tradizionalizzato di moduli che è a disposizione della comunità. Tuttavia dalla nostra esperienza diretta, cioè nel corso delle cure domiciliari di cui fummo testimoni, non risultò in modo chiaro una elettività del genere: avemmo anzi l'impressione che tale aspetto del tarantismo fosse ormai scaduto dalla coscienza comune.”

14 Vedi Rouget 1986: 256–300, e in particolare 275–82 e 291–300. Vedi anche De Martino 1961: 219–22.

15 Vedi Rouget 1986: 283–91.

16 Scrive De Martino (1961: 62): “La taranta, nel mito che la narra, ha [...] varia grandezza e diversi colori: danza secondo diverse melodie; il suo morso associato strettamente alla sua grandezza, al suo colore, al suo dinamismo coreutico e alla sua melodia, comunica alla vittima corrispondenti inclinazioni coreutiche, melodiche e cromatiche. La taranta ha nomi di persona: si chiama Rosina, Peppina, Maria Antonietta, ecc. Ha una tonalità affettiva particolare, che si riflette in chi è stato morso: vi sono così tarantole “ballerine” e “canterine”, sensibili alla musica, al canto, e alla danza, e vi sono anche tarante “tristi e mute”, che richiedono “nenie funebri” e altri canti melanconici; vi sono poi tarante “tempestose” che inducono le loro vittime a “fare sterminio”, o “libertine” che le stimolano a mimare comportamenti lascivi; e infine tarante “dormienti”, resistenti a qualsiasi trattamento musicale.”

17 Vedi Rouget 1986: 97–8, 164–71, 226, 256–300.

Ma già nell'Atene di Platone era pienamente riconosciuta la funzione catartica e regolatrice dell'angoscia esistenziale del rituale estatico; afferma a tal proposito il Burkert (1991: 29–30):

L'orientamento pratico delle *teletai* non è meno evidente nelle testimonianze cronologicamente antecedenti [il tempo di Adriano, *ndr.*] su Dioniso e Meter, che appaiono concentrate sulla terapia psicosomatica. Platone, nel *Fedro*, pone Dioniso a presiedere alla “follia teletica”, e precisa che si tratta di rituali eseguiti come cura per “le infermità e le sofferenze più gravi che si manifestano in certe famiglie, in ragione di una qualche antica causa di ira”. L'eziologia sovranaturale non deve distogliere il nostro sguardo dalla realtà delle sofferenze ovvero, in termini moderni, dei disturbi psicosomatici, che sono spiegati con riferimento a traumi del passato e trattati mediante una “divina follia” ritualmente indotta, che conduce ad una esplosione di forze emozionali represses.

Inoltre, non è solo il male di vivere ad essere regolato e sconfitto, attraverso la terapia coreutico-musicale della possessione, ma è anche il trauma della morte a trovare rimedio nell'iniziazione misterica: ciò è vero anche se

gli studiosi sono stati riluttanti ad ammettere questa dimensione del culto dionisiaco, in base al presupposto che l'interesse per una vita ultraterrena debba considerarsi come sviluppato in epoche più tarde. [Burkert 1991: 33]

Infatti,

la paura della morte è un fatto della vita. “Man mano che ci si accosta all'attesa della morte”, scrisse Platone, “compaiono la paura, e la preoccupazione di cose alle quali prima non si era pensato”; molti perciò, secondo le parole di Plutarco, “pensano che una qualche sorta di iniziazioni e purificazioni saranno d'aiuto: una volta purificati, credono, continueranno a suonare e danzare nell'Ade in luoghi colmi di splendore, aria pura e luce”.¹⁸

Nei riti del tarantismo i musicisti — come d'altronde, osserva Rouget (1986: 144–5), in tutti i rituali di possessione conosciuti — non sono degli “iniziati”: essi non partecipano dello stato di trance, ma ne sono le guide, i regolatori, gli stimolatori (vedi De Martino 1961: 68–9). E si può osservare come anche nelle immagini antiche gli strumenti — qualora siano mostrati “in funzione” — vengano suonati per lo più da musicisti normalmente vestiti, che ostentano di regola pose ed atteggiamenti composti ed ordinati (anche quando il ruolo di suonatore sia affidato a sileni o ad altri personaggi fantastici), in opposizione al disordine delle vesti o alla nudità parziale o totale dei suonatori. È questo il caso, tra numerosi altri, di un cratere a calice attribuito a fabbrica apula o siceliota,¹⁹ databile alla metà del IV secolo a. C., ora al Museo Eoliano di Lipari. Qui, in uno scenario circoscritto da un ramo di vite dal quale pendono alcuni grappoli d'uva e una maschera, una menade con monili sul capo e al collo e braccialetti ai polsi, i capelli scomposti e la

18 Burkert 1991: 35. Su quest'aspetto l'autore ci suggerisce ulteriori interessanti considerazioni: “è affascinante l'ipotesi che l'idea centrale di tutte le iniziazioni sia quella di morte e resurrezione, così che siano prefigurate nel rituale l'estinzione e la salvezza, e la morte reale divenga una ripetizione di secondaria importanza; ma le attestazioni pagane di un simbolismo della resurrezione sono nella migliore delle ipotesi non cogenti.” Perciò, è più utile tornare alla spiegazione “pratica”, connessa con la cura delle sofferenze esistenziali: tra le motivazioni della malattia o della depressione trova posto anche l'attribuzione delle cause di tali disagi all'attività malefica dei defunti; “per conseguenza, la cura consiste nel placare l'ira e l'invidia dei morti: mentre si fa in modo che essi si sentano allegri e felici, *hileoi*, anche il paziente reale si sentirà meglio. Queste, dunque, sono le “purificazioni attraverso feste gioiose” che giovano “sia ai vivi sia a coloro che sono morti”, secondo la descrizione e la polemica di Platone.” (*Ibidem*: 35–6).

19 Vedi Arias 1960: 152: “La testina con mitra in alto ricorda la ceramica di Gnathia, mentre la forma del cratere richiama quella dei crateri di Lentini e, ora, di Caltagirone. E' possibile tuttavia, che il nostro vaso, databile intorno alla metà del IV secolo a. C., sia di fabbricazione apula.” Vedi anche Bernabò Brea e Cavalier 1965, Bernabò Brea e Cavalier 1979: 124 e il saggio di Trendall in Bernabò Brea e Cavalier 1965.

veste agitata dal movimento della danza, viene raffigurata nella posizione mediante la quale più di frequente la ceramografia apula illustra l'agitazione della *mania* (vedi anche fig. 3); il corpo parzialmente volto di lato, come colto durante un movimento rotatorio; la gamba sinistra lievemente piegata e la gamba destra allungata all'indietro; le braccia che seguono il movimento delle gambe, il sinistro volto in avanti e piegato verso l'alto, a reggere una situla gialla, il destro disteso a sorreggere un tirso. Ai lati della menade danzante stanno, rispettivamente, un Pan che, quietamente ritto sulle zampe caprine, suona l'*aulos*, e una suonatrice di tamburello che, ferma in piedi e in atteggiamento calmo e composto, percuote con la mano sinistra il suo strumento ornato di nastri applicati alla cornice. E, va ricordato come il modo di sorreggere e suonare il tamburello documentato su questo cratere — con la mano sinistra impegnata a sostenere lo strumento in posizione perpendicolare al terreno, e la destra aperta a percuotere la membrana, col pollice divaricato rispetto alle altre dita raccolte a formare un unico percussore solidale, sia quella usata ancor oggi in alcune zone dell'Italia meridionale — tra le quali la Campania e parte della Puglia — per esprimere il ritmo di tarantella (vedi Guizzi e Staiti 1989). Il che, sia pure in maniera non del tutto determinante, conforta comunque l'ipotesi che la figura della musicista sia resa in maniera intenzionalmente realistica, e che il suo ruolo sia, per l'appunto, di supporto e non di partecipazione alla danza.

Nelle immagini dipinte, tuttavia, gli elementi ripresi dalla realtà non sempre vengono restituiti integralmente in una rappresentazione spazialmente e diacronicamente organizzata, ma piuttosto isolati in formule stereotipe sincretizzate in scene la cui comprensione resta affidata alla conoscenza che chi guarda il vaso si presuppone abbia degli oggetti e delle loro funzioni. Gli oggetti dei riti telestici dunque appaiono nelle scene di *mania* anche a prescindere dalla loro immediata utilizzazione, branditi dalle menadi e dai sileni come vessilli del "furore" dionisiaco o variamente distribuiti sulla superficie dipinta. Essi, in altri termini, appaiono nell'immagine come emblemi dell'attività che si sta rappresentando e non come oggetti direttamente funzionali ad un'attività illustrata in termini sequenziali. È il caso degli innumerevoli specchi, delle torce, dei tirsi, dei drappi, dei monili, dei serti, dei vassoi, dei vasi che, sorretti da qualcuno dei personaggi illustrati o sparsi sulla scena, costellano le immagini della *mania* trasmesse dai ceramografi apuli. Anche — forse soprattutto — gli strumenti musicali, impugnati in maniera non funzionale o, comunque, diversa da quella documentata per i suonatori "professionisti" (vedi figg. 4, 5 e 6), oppure tenuti in posizione "di riposo" (figg. 7, 8, 9 e 10) o ancora addirittura sospesi in aria (ovvero appesi sullo scenario del rito, figg. 11 e 12), vengono inseriti nella scena raffigurata in quanto elementi indispensabili alla comprensione simbolica della rappresentazione. In figura 4 il tamburello viene impugnato in maniera non funzionale da una menade il cui stato di "furore" viene sottolineato dal disordinato avvolgersi attorno ai fianchi della veste, che lascia il busto scoperto. In figura 5 e in figura 6 lo strumento viene tenuto alto dalla baccante che spalanca le braccia in una posa simile a quella già vista nel cratere del Museo Eoliano e che, in figura 5, ha la testa alzata in uno degli atteggiamenti più comuni nell'iconografia della possessione.²⁰ In queste due immagini lo strumento che nel cratere del Museo Eoliano è suonato da una "professionista" viene invece attribuito alla menade, al posto della situla, che qui viene affidata ad un sileno, e al pari di essa non viene utilizzato, ma brandito come vessillo. E questa funzione di vessillo del "furore" rivestita soprattutto dal tamburello (ma non solo da esso: frequentemente, nelle pitture apule, appare nei medesimi contesti e con simili funzioni un sistro a forma di scaletta, vedi

20 "volteggi sfrenati, ampie oscillazioni delle braccia, brusco movimento della testa all'indietro — quel movimento che disarticola la nuca, di cui parla Pindaro in un ditirambo —, violento inarcamento del corpo, atteggiamenti stralvolti e convulsivi, questi i principali caratteri, ben noti del resto, della danza di possessione presso i Greci." Rouget 1986: 286.

Lepore 1991)²¹ appare inequivocabile in casi come quello di *figura 9*, in cui lo strumento è in mano ad un eros coperto di monili che offre ad una donna seduta uno specchio, o come quello di *figura 10*, in cui la menade danza, più che sostenendo, recando appesi addosso una serie di emblemi della sua condizione di posseduta: una situla nella mano destra, un tirso a forma di spiga tra il braccio destro e il fianco, un drappo appeso al braccio sinistro, una cassetta e un tamburello sorretto per i nastri attaccati alla cornice tenuti con la mano sinistra. In tutti questi e in molti altri casi a questi assimilabili l'immagine dello strumento musicale dunque non illustra l'effettivo ruolo svolto dal musicista all'interno della cerimonia, ma sottolinea la funzione rituale dell'oggetto rappresentato. Il tamburello, si è già visto e se ne dirà ancora oltre, nella pittura vascolare apula appare come il "vessillo sonoro" più importante delle danze di possessione; in alternativa o assieme ad esso si trovano, è vero, i sistri a forma di scaletta cui si è già accennato, e sono presenti anche *auloi* (vedi *figg. 2 e 22*) o, più raramente, lire (*fig. 12*): il tamburello resta però ampiamente lo strumento più rappresentato, e quello che più immediatamente e più largamente figura come attributo delle menadi, oltre che come strumento musicale funzionale all'accompagnamento della danza. E questi vessilli sonori delle scene di possessione in alcuni casi (*figg. 13, 14 e 15*) risultano di dimensioni accresciute rispetto a quelle che si presume dovessero avere nella realtà:²² e ciò, si può ritenere, non tanto a causa di una certa rozzezza e approssimazione dell'immagine dipinta, che in nessuno dei tre casi citati sembra di qualità inferiore a quella della produzione media dei ceramografi apuli del quarto secolo, quanto allo scopo di sottolineare la funzione scenica dello strumento.

In questa prospettiva la ragione primaria della presenza di tamburi, e di sistri, lire, *auloi* — come quella di tirsi, specchi, drappi — all'interno delle scene di *mania* diviene quella legata al ruolo simbolico e rappresentativo dello strumento all'interno del sistema culturale a cui appartiene. Così, quando la realtà viene eternata nell'iconografia, il potere rappresentativo dello strumento raffigurato diviene altrettanto, se non più, importante del potere evocativo dei suoni prodotti dal medesimo strumento. Il tamburello, che nelle scene di *mania* illustrate dalla ceramica attica è presente, ma non preponderante, ha invece un ruolo primario nelle immagini apule. E va ricordato come questo strumento, pressoché sconosciuto alla musica popolare della Grecia moderna, abbia invece un ruolo primario nella musica per danza di tradizione orale dell'Italia meridionale. Le attestazioni su pittura vascolare di produzione apula, campana, siceliota mostrano strumenti assai simili a quelli che si ritroveranno in immagini romane, e poi medioevali, rinascimentali e ancora più tarde, in una lunga ininterrotta sequenza che arriva fino ai giorni nostri e alla nostra diretta, concreta esperienza dell'uso ancora attivo dello strumento (vedi Guizzi e Staiti 1989). E la ceramografia apula, vi si è accennato, lo mostra impugnato e suonato con tecniche uguali a quelle tuttora impiegate in Italia meridionale, e che si distinguono in maniera netta da quelle usate nel resto del bacino del Mediterraneo, ivi incluse anche alcune regioni greche o vicine alla Grecia, quali la Macedonia e la Turchia. Con tutta probabilità anche in epoca precristiana il tamburello era più diffuso nella Magna Graecia di quanto non lo fosse nel Peloponneso, per quanto anche la ceramografia attica documenti in alcuni casi morfologie e tecniche esecutive oggi peculiari dell'Italia meridionale ma che furono evidentemente familiari al mondo greco. Con tutta probabilità anche la funzione simbolica del tamburello — strumento femminile e uti-

21 Per quanto riguarda l'identificazione di questo strumento vedi Lepore 1991. Il saggio di Lucia Lepore fornisce una descrizione attendibile di questo strumento musicale, un sistro di metallo che invece in studi precedenti veniva — a nostro avviso in modo palesemente erroneo — identificato (o meglio, semplicemente definito) come xilofono. Allo scritto della Lepore si rimanda anche per un'eshaustiva bibliografia relativa al sistro apulo.

22 E si ricorda come invece nelle raffigurazioni di tamburelli "in funzione" vengano di solito rispettate le proporzioni degli strumenti.



2. Cratere a calice di fabbrica apula o siceliota, menade con situla e tirso tra suonatrice di tamburello e Pan che suona l'*aulos*, metà del IV sec. Lipari, Museo Eoliano. – Foto da Arias 1960: 152, n. 165

3. Pittore vicino al gruppo di Altenburg, pelike di fabbrica apula, menade danzante con torcia, IV sec. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 90.160. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 11/239



4. Pittore di Atene 1680, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, giovane nudo con torcia e pelle ferina, menade a petto scoperto con tamburello, IV sec. Matera, Museo Nazionale "Domenico Ridola", 156619, da Civita di Tricarico. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 9/124



5. Pittore di Adolphseck, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, menade danzante con tamburello tra giovane nudo con mantello e tirso e sileno con situla e torcia, IV sec. Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Stg. 1. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 4/54



6. Pittore di Atene 1714, cratere a colonnette di fabbrica apula, menade danzante con tamburello e sileno con situla e torcia, IV sec. Londra, British Museum, 1969.1–41.1. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 8/227



7. Pittore del Prigioniero, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, sileno con patera e menade con torcia e tamburello appeso alla cintola, IV sec. a.C. Bari, collezione Macinagrossa 17. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 4/70



8. Pittore del Prigioniero, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, Dioniso con tirso e *kantharos*, sileno con situla e torcia, menade con tamburello tenuto dai nastri, IV sec. Bari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 2249. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 4/75



9. Pelike di fabbrica apula, donna seduta con phiale e Eros con patera e tamburello tenuto dai nastri, IV sec. Bari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 1164. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 20/85



10. Cratere a colonnette di fabbrica apula, menade danzante con situla, tirso, cista e tamburello e Eros con torcia e melagrana, IV sec. Londra, British Museum, F 294. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 23/179



11. Cratere a colonnette di fabbrica apula, menade danzante con phiale, specchio e tamburello e Eros con nastro e ghirlanda, IV sec. Bari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 918. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 23/184



12. Pittore di Bologna 425, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, sileno seduto con coppa e tirso, Dioniso con lira, menade con phiale drappeggiata in una pelle ferina, IV sec. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico, 11078 (L.326). – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 4/201



13. Cratere a colonnette di fabbrica apula, menade con ghirlanda con nastro, spiga e specchio e guerriero osco con cista, tamburello e situla, IV sec. Leningrado, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 553 (818?). – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 23/172



14. Oinochoe di fabbrica apula, giovane nudo con nastro e tamburello e menade con catena di rosette e spiga; IV sec. Bari, collezione Loconte, 4. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 25/43

lizzato, in tutto il Mediterraneo, in riti dedicati a divinità femminili — trovava maggiori riscontri nel contesto culturale e cultuale dell'Italia meridionale che non in Grecia. La forma circolare dello strumento rappresenta simbolicamente il Sole e la Luna, segni opposti e complementari, nella cosmogonia popolare, di giorno e notte, vita e morte. La forma solare e lunare dello strumento viene confermata e ribadita dalle decorazioni che — nelle immagini antiche come in alcuni tamburelli moderni (fig. 16) — ornano la membrana. Essi ripropongono, al centro dello strumento, la forma circolare della cornice, spesso circondata da cerchi più piccoli che si collocano rispetto al tondo centrale come stelle rispetto a un pianeta (figg. 4, 5, 6, 9, 13 e 17).²³ Questa immagine è a volte arricchita da raggi che dal centro si dipartono verso l'esterno del cerchio (figg. 8, 12, 18 e 19), immagine sintetica di fasci di luce che si irradiano dalla sorgente centrale, ripresa dai nastri colorati che — nella pittura vascolare come nei tamburelli tuttora usati in Italia (figg. 2, 9-14, 17-18 e 21) — sono applicati al bordo esterno dello strumento: raggi di luce e ad un tempo, fronde e fiori multicolori che hanno funzione apotropaica e che, come i tirsi e i bastoni fioriti delle maschere carnevalesche, rappresentano il fiorire primaverile della vegetazione celebrato nei riti di resurrezione: riti ai quali, se ne dirà meglio oltre, sia la *mania* teletica che il tarantismo sono collegati:²⁴ il che, per quanto riguarda l'antichità, risulta manifesto, più che dai resoconti letterari, dalle attestazioni iconografiche, che mostrano le une a fianco delle altre, o addirittura fuse assieme, scene di *mania* e rappresentazioni festive. La figura 20 mostra una menade, seduta tra due giovani sileni, che sostiene un grande tamburello la cui membrana è dipinta con l'immagine di un serto di fronde, mentre sulla cornice si svolge un motivo decorativo a curve riempite da tondi, come in molti tamburelli tuttora usati in Italia meridionale.

L'assoluta predominanza del tamburello nelle immagini apule della *mania* pone alcuni problemi interpretativi. Gilbert Rouget (1986: 298-9) ha ben messo in evidenza come — secondo Platone, Eschilo, Sofocle ed Euripide²⁵ — in Grecia non il tamburello ma l'*aulos* fosse lo strumento capace di suscitare la *mania*: Ciò è perfettamente coerente con quanto affermato dallo stesso Platone nel passo già citato dello *Ione* (536b) a proposito dell'importanza della melodia nella "individualizzazione" della possessione, e con quanto verificato, per quanto riguarda il tarantismo pugliese, con le testimonianze del passato che riferiscono dell'esistenza di diverse melodie atte a determinare la trance. Il ritmo espresso da sistri, crotali e tamburi è del tutto secondario ai fini dell'individuazione dell'"altro da sé" che pervade i danzatori. È dunque la melodia suonata dall'*aulos* la guida principale della cerimonia (vedi Rouget 1986: 109), capace di condurre i posseduti nella loro identificazione con spiriti diversi, siano essi guerreschi, erotici o di altra natura. Lo stesso avviene nei riti del tarantismo: l'individuazione della "divisa musicale" della tarantola che ha morso sembra si fondasse sulla melodia eseguita dal violino (o, nel passato, da altri strumenti, tra i quali chitarre, arpe, trombe, zampogne).²⁶ Il ruolo dello strumento capace di esprimere la melodia che consente l'identificazione con l'"altro da sé" può fornire una chiave di interpretazione della funzione del Pan cui in figura 2 è affidato il compito, simmetrico a quello della tamburellista "professionista", di suonare l'*aulos*: l'alterità veicolata dal suono dello strumento si materializza, nella traduzione iconografica, nella figura fantastica, che diventa, potremmo dire,

23 Vedi Guizzi e Staiti 1989: 35. Decorazioni solari e riferimenti al simbolismo planetario del tamburello si trovano anche negli strumenti sciamanici di area siberiana: vedi Emsheimer 1988.

24 Per quanto riguarda i rapporti tra festa sacra e riti orgiastici nella Grecia antica vedi Jeanmaire 1972, particolarmente alle pp. 44-5.

25 Per Platone, oltre al passo già citato dello *Ione* (536b), Rouget fa riferimento alla *Repubblica* (400b) e al *Simposio*, per Aristotele alla *Politica* (VIII), per Eschilo al frammento delle *Edoniesi*, per Sofocle all'*Aiace* (610), per Euripide alle *Baccanti* (v. 160) e all'*Eracle* (891).

26 Vedi De Martino 1961: 132-41 e il saggio di Diego Carpitella in appendice all'opera di De Martino (352).



15. Pittore di Vienne 1072, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, donna seduta con tamburello e giovane nudo con nastro e tirso, IV sec. Già mercato di Milano, Casa Geri, cat. 10, 16 dicembre 1970, n. 732. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 14/158



16. Tamburello con decorazioni solari sulla membrana, festa della Madonna del Pollino (CS). – Foto: Staiti



17. Cratere a calice di fabbrica apula, menade stante con tamburello con nastri e decorazioni sulla membrana, giovane nudo seduto con phiale e tirso, IV sec. Matera, Museo Nazionale "Domenico Ridola", 9690, da Montescaglioso. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 6/107



18. Cratere a colonnette di fabbrica apula, Eros seduto con phiale e grappolo d'uva, donna con tirso, ghirlanda da cui pende un nastro e tamburello con decorazioni solari sulla membrana, IV sec. Trieste, Civico Museo di Storia d'Arte, S 396. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 23/183



19. Cratere a colonnette di fabbrica apula, Dioniso disteso con tirso, sileno con corno, due menadi con tirso, una delle quali regge un tamburello con decorazioni solari sulla membrana, IV sec. Ruvo, Museo Jatta, 730. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 4/97



20. Pittore di Lecce 614, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, donna con tamburello con decorazioni sulla membrana seduta tra giovane con tirso e sileno, IV sec. Università del Mississippi (già collezione Robinson e Trau). – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 5/1



21. Cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, Sileno con tamburello insegue menade danzante con situla, IV sec. Hildesheim. Römer-Pelizaeus Museum, F 3299 (già a Berlino, Staatliche Museen). – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 4/40

suono visualizzato, o meglio “divisa iconica”, traduzione in termini visivi delle funzioni dello strumento e delle “divise musicali” da esso prodotte.

Anche il tamburello ha, nella terapia coreutico-musicale del tarantismo, un ruolo di primaria importanza; Ernesto De Martino ricorda come durante un esorcismo domiciliare al quale assisté nel 1959 da esso, oltre che dal violino, la tarantata sembrasse

fascinata [...] e nel comportamento e nel sembiante dava a vedere di voler assorbire avidamente il ritmo del tamburello e la melodia del violino, come per evocare qualcosa di risolutivo per tutto il suo essere. [...] Di tale vicenda i suonatori erano i mediatori, gli stimolatori, le guide: nella fase in piedi, quando la tarantata — sempre saltellando a tempo — indugiava davanti o in mezzo ad essi, la tamburellista le faceva spesso esplodere proprio alle orecchie i colpi ritmici del tamburello, con un moto ad altalena delle braccia che dava alla somministrazione sonora la parvenza di una irrorazione benefica o addirittura di una lustrazione. [1961: 68–9]

Ancora nel XIX secolo peraltro tra i modelli musicali impiegati nei riti del tarantismo ve ne era uno così detto “a botta”, eseguito dal solo tamburello (*ibidem*: 147). Più in generale, il ruolo esercitato dal tamburello e dagli altri strumenti ritmici nei riti di possessione — secondo quanto documentato dall’iconografia antica e dai riscontri di tradizione orale — doveva essere tutt’altro che secondario: ad esso spettava il compito di regolare la pulsazione costante della danza, di graduare la curva dell’intensità della trance. È anche verosimile che questo strumento, della cui simbologia legata all’universo femminile si è già accennato,²⁷ fosse una sorta di emblema della

27 Per approfondimenti si rimanda a Guizzi e Staiti 1989.

condizione femminile: e questa, se si somma all'eredità sciamanica del tamburo a cornice²⁸ e dunque al legame profondo della storia di questo strumento con la divinazione, con i viaggi nel regno dei morti, con la possessione estatica, è ragione sufficiente a spiegare la fortuna del tamburello nelle immagini della *mania*. Occorre rilevare peraltro che il predominio del tamburello sugli altri strumenti nella pittura vascolare apula riguarda soltanto il suo ruolo di "vessillo musicale" delle menadi: le immagini in cui lo strumento è mostrato "in funzione" o comunque in mano a suonatori "professionisti" non superano per quantità quelle in cui altri strumenti — soprattutto l'*aulos* — sono mostrati in contesti uguali.

L'*aulos*, sebbene la pittura vascolare lo mostri frequentemente suonato da donne,²⁹ non appare mai, al contrario del tamburello, impugnato dalle baccanti come vessillo, o furiosamente insufflato da una donna nel corso della danza; esso, quantomeno sul piano simbolico, è strumento essenzialmente maschile per funzioni, per timbro, per forma. La storia mitica dell'*aulos* vuole che esso sia stato inventato da una divinità femminile, Atena, per imitare i suoni striduli che aveva sentito uscire dalla bocca delle Gorgoni (vedi Vernant 1987: 59–60). Ella, specchiata in uno stagno e inorridita dall'aspetto che le conferiva lo sforzo di insufflare lo strumento, lo gettò via. Esso fu poi raccolto dal frigio Marsia e diventò emblema dei sileni che popolano i cortei dionisiaci. Questa storia è in qualche modo opposta a quella che, in un passo delle *Baccanti* di Euripide (120–34) viene raccontata a proposito del tamburello, del quale — inventato dai Coribanti e consegnato a Rea (e dunque creato da divinità maschili e utilizzato da divinità femminili, con procedimento opposto a quello dell'*aulos*) — si chiarisce l'appartenenza all'universo simbolico femminile:

O dimora nascosta dei Cureti,
antri divini di Creta,
grotta natale di Zeus,
lì i Coribanti dagli elmi tricuspidati
inventarono per me
questo cerchio di pelle ben tesa:
e nell'acceso bacchanale ardente
fusero le sue cadenze
al melodioso respiro degli auloi di Frigia;
lo consegnarono a Rea per scandire
i ritmati evoè delle Baccanti.
Dalla dea madre passò ai deliranti Satiri,
entrò con essi nei tripudi, nelle feste
che ogni anno rallegrano Dionysos. [*Bacchae* 120–34]

Da questo brano risulta ben chiaro come lo strumento, precisamente descritto, fosse utilizzato nelle cerimonie dionisiache;³⁰ risulta chiaro altresì che esso secondo Euripide — nella sua prima

28 Vedi Jeanmaire 1972: 51; Emsheimer 1988; Mačák 1989.

29 Il che non risulta strano, sebbene si tratti di uno strumento a connotazione simbolica essenzialmente maschile: è attestata una tradizione auletica di donne anche in ambienti estranei all'ambiente delle etere, all'interno del quale l'uso dello strumento ribadisce, anziché negarla, la sua simbologia maschile e fallica; lo stesso Platone menziona nel *Simposio* (176e, 212, 215c) una *auletris*. È del tutto comprensibile che in riti prevalentemente femminili come erano quelli della *mania* teletica fossero predilette delle musiciste donne.

30 A proposito del rapporto tra *mania* teletica, dionisismo e culto della Dea Madre vedi Jeanmaire 1972: 198–219. Si legge alle pp. 205–6: "la *mania* con tutto il corteo delle sue manifestazioni rientra nel ciclo della Grande Madre la quale in Asia Minore e poi in Grecia riprodusse e continuò il tipo di una grande dea egea di cui le dee elleniche riflettono molti aspetti." Anche Burkert (1991: 37) sottolinea che: "la forma ellenizzata del culto di Meter venne a fondersi in parte con quello di Dioniso già in epoca antica, e così il *tympanon* di Meter fu introdotto in tutte le forme del culto e dell'iconologia bacchici."



22. Pittore di Lecce 686, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, giovane nudo con coppa e tirso, donna suona l'aulos, IV sec. Erbach, Castello, 33. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1982: 3/69

destinazione — è strumento femminile, e destinato ai riti della *mania* telestica: i Coribanti lo inventarono per consegnarlo alla Dea Madre, ed esso serviva a “scandire i ritmati evoè delle bac-canti”. Ancora, il fatto che, sia pur di rado, si vedano nella pittura vascolare situazioni in cui gli strumenti femminili vengono utilizzati dagli uomini e viceversa (cioè, in cui sileni brandiscono il tamburello, come in *fig. 21*, e menadi suonano l'*aulos*, come in *fig. 22*) può forse essere compreso meglio alla luce del passo di Euripide: egli racconta come questo “cerchio dalla pelle ben tesa [...] dalla dea madre passò ai deliranti satiri”, che lo percuotono “nei tripudi, nelle feste che ogni anno rallegrano Dionysos”. Cioè: nelle celebrazioni stagionali della rinascita della vegetazione, quando — allora come nei carnevali moderni — il travestimento e l'inversione sessuale sono uno degli elementi centrali della rappresentazione del “mondo alla rovescia”, le donne possono suonare l'*aulos* e gli uomini — impersonando vari *daimones* potenti e fecondi — ritualmente percuotono la cavità circolare che rappresenta il ventre stesso della madre terra.³¹ Lo scambio di ruoli — e di strumenti musicali — tra uomo e donna, allora, non è casuale né viene effettuato in qualsiasi situazione: esso è consapevolmente carico di significati sessuali e consentito solo in situazioni rituali, anche in questo caso, in cui gli iniziati si impadroniscono dei ruoli e degli attributi dell’“altro da sé”. Il che, peraltro, trova ampio riscontro nella tradizione orale contemporanea: le zampogne e gli strumenti a fiato in genere sono strumenti esclusivamente maschili, almeno per quanto riguarda la loro effettiva utilizzazione, poiché invece essi, soprattutto quando sono composti di due parti accoppiate e contrapposte (come è il caso dell'*aulos*),

31 A proposito della simbologia sessuale dei tamburi e della percussione come rappresentazione della fecondazione della terra vedi Sachs 1940: 31–8.



23. Tamburello con nastri applicati sulla membrana, costruttore Antonio Franchina, Messina, collezione Staiti. – Foto: Staiti

24. Pittore delle Carnee, cratere a volute di fabbrica lucana o apula, lato A, IV sec. Taranto, Museo Nazionale, 8263, da Ceglie del Campo. – Foto da Arias 1960

incorporano nella struttura simbolizzata la doppiezza sessuale maschio-femmina;³² il tamburello, molto più dichiaratamente femminile e suonato per lo più da donne, viene, a Carnevale e nelle feste religiose, suonato da uomini; in tal caso una regola culturale osservata soprattutto in Campania vuole che l'impugnatura dello strumento sia invertita, passando dalla mano destra a quella sinistra.³³

In questa prospettiva risultano particolarmente significative le scene illustrate sulla superficie di un elegante cratere a volute a figure rosse di produzione lucana o apula (*fig. 23*), attribuito al pittore delle Carnee e datato intorno al 410 a. C. (Arias 1960: 146–9 e tav. 230–5; Trendall 1989: 21–2 e *fig. 23*). Sul lato A (*fig. 23*), al centro, è raffigurato Dioniso, mollemente seduto su una roccia col tirso nella mano destra e un *kantharos*, tenuto distrattamente per un'ansa, nella mano sinistra. Alle spalle del dio una menade vestita di una corta clamide tiene una torcia sopra la testa di Dioniso; chiude la scena a destra un sileno appoggiato a un pilastrino. Dioniso guarda la scena che si svolge alla sua destra (*fig. 24*): una donna suona un *aulos* raffigurato con grande precisione, investendo con la sua melodia una baccante che, la veste agitata dalla danza vorticoso, la testa riversa all'indietro e lo sguardo vacuo, si aggrappa ad un tirso ornato da una fascia di stoffa. I movimenti violenti e nitidamente scanditi della baccante investita dal suono dell'*aulos*, come pure quelli dei danzatori che compaiono sull'altra faccia del vaso, vogliono significare la

³² Vedi De Simone 1979: 15–8 e 21–2.

³³ Vedi De Simone 1979: 15–6. Questa pratica trova riscontri anche nella tradizione iconografica del passato: vedi Guizzi e Staiti 1989: 35.



25. Pittore delle Carnee, cratere a volute di fabbrica lucana o apula, particolare del lato A, IV sec. Taranto, Museo Nazionale, 8263, da Ceglie del Campo. – Foto da Arias 1960

mania teletica, secondo uno schema stereotipo utilizzato nell'iconografia dionisiaca, nell'arte antica e fino ai nostri giorni. Dall'altro lato del cratere (fig. 25) una scena di danza è sormontata dalla raffigurazione di Perseo che mostra ad un gruppo di sileni inorriditi la testa della Gorgone: immagine verosimilmente derivata da rappresentazioni drammatiche dello stesso motivo. Questa scena, piuttosto comune anche nella ceramografia attica, è legata tematicamente alla rappresentazione della *mania* teletica a partire dalla storia mitica dell'*aulos*, lo strumento che guida l'identificazione con l'"altro da sé" da parte del posseduto. Si è già ricordato come l'*aulos* fosse stato inventato da Atena per imitare il soffio stridulo prodotto dalle Gorgoni e dai loro serpenti. E questa imitazione musicale si configura come identificazione con l'"altro da sé": "questa *mimesis* — scrive Jean-Pierre Vernant (1987: 60) — non è semplice imitazione, ma una autentica mimetizzazione, un modo di entrare nella pelle del personaggio che si simula, di prenderne la maschera." A guardare la terrificante maschera di Medusa, ad incrociarne lo sguardo, si resta pietrificati: perché il suo volto orribilmente deformato è l'immagine stessa della possessione, de-soggettivata e assolutizzata, e dunque, specchio che eterna nella negazione dello sguardo, nella fissità della morte.³⁴ Insomma, scrive Vernant

quando tu fissi Medusa è lei che fa di te quello specchio dove, trasformandoti in pietra, ella guarda la sua orribile faccia e riconosce se stessa nel doppio, nel fantasma che sei diventato dopo aver guardato il suo occhio [...] quello che ti dà a vedere la maschera di Medusa quando ne resti affascinato altro non è che te stesso, te stesso nell'aldilà, questa testa vestita di notte, questa faccia mascherata di invisibile che, nell'occhio di Medusa, si rivela la verità della tua figura. Questa smorfia ghignante è anche quella

34 Vedi Vernant 1987: 61 e 83; anche Jeanmaire 1972: 108–9.



26. Pittore delle Carnee, cratere a volute di fabbrica lucana o apula, lato B, IV sec. Taranto, Museo Nazionale, 8263, da Ceglie del Campo. – Foto da Arias 1960

che affiora sul tuo viso e vi impone la sua maschera quando, con l'anima in delirio, tu danzi sull'aria del flauto [recte: aulos] il baccanale di Ade. [1987: 83]

Lo specchio in cui spesso, nelle immagini di *mania*, le baccanti contemplanò il proprio “furore”, diventa intollerabile e letale quando diventa Medusa, quando cioè si rovescia annullando la soggettività di chi ci si riflette, quando insomma viene assolutizzato uno dei due elementi, che nella funzione dello specchio coesistono, del relativo e dell'assoluto, della vita e della morte, del sé e dell'altro. E Perseo, per affrontare e sconfiggere Medusa, si serve di uno specchio e del suo riflesso per ribaltare ancora una volta il gioco di relazioni tra l'umano e il sovrannaturale, tra la vita e la morte. In basso si svolge una scena di danza. A sinistra, su un pilastrino, è incisa l'iscrizione *karneios*, per la cui presenza si è ritenuto di vedere nella scena illustrata una danza rituale in onore di Apollo Carneios (Arias 1960: 149). In prossimità del catino che sta sul pilastro con l'iscrizione, un auleta, la *phorbeia* in mano, si intrattiene con un danzatore nudo, che ha in testa un copricapo formato, sembra, da foglie di palma. Al centro della scena (fig. 26) un altro danzatore nudo, con un copricapo simile al primo, nel corso della sua danza dai movimenti molto scanditi allunga il braccio destro a toccare una figura in abiti femminili (una donna, o forse un uomo travestito). Questa, le mani al petto e i gomiti in alto in un gesto tuttora assai comune nelle danze popolari del sud d'Italia e della Grecia, fa ruotare vorticosamente la sua veste, che si allarga a formare un cerchio simmetrico al largo oggetto che porta in capo, assai simile ad un grande cesto di vimini intrecciati. A destra (fig. 27), un giovane con mantello e bastone guarda un efebo nudo che ha sul capo il medesimo oggetto, inquadrato in una prospettiva diversa. La sua posa un po' femminile, una mano portata alla testa e l'altra poggiata sul fianco, una gamba



27. Pittore delle Carnee, cratere a volute di fabbrica lucana o apula, particolare del lato B, IV sec. Taranto, Museo Nazionale, 8263, da Ceglie del Campo. – Foto da Arias 1960

28. Pittore delle Carnee, cratere a volute di fabbrica lucana o apula, lato B, IV sec. Taranto, Museo Nazionale, 8263, da Ceglie del Campo. – Foto da Arias 1960

lievemente piegata e tutto il corpo sinuosamente flesso, è palesemente una rappresentazione ingentilita e enfattizzata della posizione assunta dalle contadine per portare sul capo oggetti pesanti. Il rovesciamento di funzioni e atteggiamenti in quest'immagine è assai esplicito, e coinvolge, oltre alla figura centrale in abiti femminili (se si ritiene che essa sia un uomo travestito), anche l'efebos a destra, che si trasforma ritualmente in donna, calzando sul capo un oggetto che è, nel mondo greco, il simbolo stesso della condizione femminile. È stato infatti suggerito per questo copricapo (Arias 1960: 149) il nome di *kalathiskos* (καλαθίσκος). *Kalathiskos* è un cappello rituale, simbolo della fertilità, attributo originariamente di divinità femminili di origine orientale, ed è in genere più piccolo di quello illustrato nel cratere del Pittore delle Carnee, e ha la forma di un cestino da carta molto svasato verso l'estremità superiore.³⁵ Il nome di questo copricapo è diminutivo di *kalathos* (καλαθός), che ha come significato primario "canestro fatto di vimini o di canne" (Longo 1961: 294), e da esso deriva la sua forma e la sua funzione rituale. Il *kalathos*

veniva usato per riporvi il materiale dei lavori muliebri, sicché divenne l'emblema dell'operosità femminile e poi del gineceo [...] Il *kalathos* era usato nei sacrifici dai sacerdoti e dalle sacerdotesse, come ci dicono le pitture vascolari, per offrire le primizie alle divinità ed era usato anche dai fedeli. [*ibidem*: 295]

In Crimea nella tomba di una sacerdotessa di Demetra sono state rinvenute delle placche d'oro che rivestivano un *kalathos*; vicino alle placche furono ritrovate delle lamine che erano

35 Vedi Wissowa 1919: 1548-9, voce καλαθός.

cucite su un abito, verosimilmente quello della sacerdotessa: sulle lamine sono raffigurate delle donne che danzano col *kalathos* in capo (*ibidem*: 295). La danza che si presume eseguissero queste donne era nota, anch'essa, col nome di *kalathiskos*, ed era legata a culti femminili. Lo stesso copricapo è raffigurato in testa a tre danzatrici che eseguono anch'esse la danza *kalathiskos* su una colonna marmorea a Delfi (Pauly & Wissowa 1919: 1548–9). Appaiono chiare dunque le connessioni tra condizione femminile, danza e copricapo-canestro. Il *kalathos* quale cesto privo di coperchio — insieme con la *kiste*, il cesto chiuso da un coperchio — peraltro un importante elemento dell'apparato simbolico nella celebrazione dei misteri: nel *synthema* (“parola d'ordine”) trasmesso da Clemente Alessandrino, relativo alle iniziazioni mistiche di Eleusi, si dice: “Ho digiunato, ho bevuto il *kykeon*, ho preso dal cesto coperto (*kiste*), ho lavorato e ho rimesso nel cesto alto (*kalathos*), e da lì nell'altro cesto (*kiste*)” (Protr. 21, 2, citato da Burkert 1991: 125).

Sul cratere del pittore delle Carnee (figg. 24–8) viene illustrata l'imitazione rituale dei gesti del lavoro quotidiano, nel corso di una cerimonia forse dedicata ad Apollo Carneios. Questa imitazione danzata delle fatiche femminili viene rappresentata da una donna e da un uomo travestito (o da due uomini travestiti) — grazie al copricapo e all'atteggiamento effeminato del corpo — da donna e da lavoratrice. Il Pittore delle Carnee ha modificato la forma del *kalathos*, adattandolo forse alla realtà regionale pugliese: la sua forma circolare e schiacciata è identica a quella dei grossi panieri in cui, in tutta l'Italia meridionale, si dispongono il pesce, la frutta, gli ortaggi.

L'intera scena, per la diversità degli atteggiamenti dei personaggi raffigurati, per la compresenza di diverse attività tutte legate alla danza, per l'immediatezza e la freschezza del disegno, che pure non rinuncia ad essere elegante e dettagliato, ha il sapore di uno scorcio di una celebrazione collettiva, nel corso della quale i movimenti di un danzatore e un auleta in riposo e dei danzatori in piena attività sono stati fissati dal pittore ed eternati sulla superficie del vaso. L'ipotesi che si tratti della raffigurazione di una festa dedicata ad Apollo Carneio, dunque, è credibile. Ciò non contraddice l'ipotesi che la scena raffigurata sia, comunque, una scena di *mania* guidata dalla musica: è noto che nel corso di alcune feste si celebravano pubblicamente i riti delle bacchanti (Jeanmaire 1972: 44); il fatto che la festa illustrata sia dedicata ad Apollo peraltro non esclude che di essa facessero parti elementi di riti che certo si svolgevano prevalentemente sotto il segno di Dioniso, ma che non erano di suo esclusivo dominio: del resto a Delfi le due divinità venivano onorate l'una a fianco dell'altra (*ibidem*: 35 e 187–98), e “la pizia era una donna ispirata nella quale la facoltà profetica si destava in seguito ad uno stato di transe simile a quello dionisiaco” (*ibidem*: 189). E sul Parnaso le tiadi “facevano le menadi per Dioniso e per Apollo” (*ibidem*: 178). Con ciò non si pretende certo di affrontare in maniera esauriente il complesso problema dei rapporti tra le due divinità e i culti ad esse dedicati: si vuole, assai più semplicemente, evidenziare la chiave interpretativa che ci permette di individuare relazioni tematiche tra le varie scene illustrate sul cratere del Pittore delle Carnee: la danza della menade alla presenza di Dioniso; Perseo che mostra la testa di Medusa ai sileni; la scena di danza in onore di Apollo Carneio. Esse acquistano una coerenza complessiva soltanto a partire dall'elemento unificante della *mania* teletistica: e, potremmo dire, il rapporto tra *mania* e cerimonia sacra è l'argomento trattato su questo cratere, con una grazia e una profondità che ne fanno forse il prodotto artisticamente più rilevante di tutta la produzione apula.

I gesti mimati dai danzatori nel cratere del Pittore delle Carnee, come gli oggetti che indossano, rimandano all'universo della possessione. Il travestimento da donna, che anche nell'Europa medioevale e moderna è prerogativa delle feste di rinnovamento stagionale, pure si ritrova nelle rappresentazioni danzate dei posseduti e, di più, è — nei riti collettivi legati al ciclo delle stagioni — uno degli elementi liminari che saldano il legame tra festa collettiva e possessione individuale.



29. Pittore della danzatrice di Berlino, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, giovane armato danza al suono della musica eseguita da un auleta, IV sec. Taranto, Museo Nazionale, 61735, da Ceglie del Campo. — Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1985: 1/1

L'adesione al ruolo, nei travestimenti di Carnevale, è talmente completa che, in molti casi, si può parlare di stati crepuscolari, affini alla possessione. La possessione implicante il mutamento del sesso — sempre l'acquisizione della femminilità da parte dell'uomo — è diffusa nell'area campana. Recentissime testimonianze di casi di tarantismo maschile rivelano che spesso il posseduto si comporta, nel corso della crisi, come una donna, ragazza maritata o vedova, a seconda dei casi. [Rossi e De Simone 1977: 16]

La figura del danzatore che, accanto alla figura femminile al centro dell'immagine, le poggia una mano sulla spalla, rimanda ad altre suggestioni e altri legami: egli sembra avere, nella rigidità angolosa dei movimenti, nel portamento altero e nella furezza dello sguardo un piglio militare, come se fosse posseduto da uno spirito guerriero. In numerose immagini di produzione attica la raffigurazione di danze pirriche mette direttamente in relazione il suono dell'*aulos* con lo spirito guerriero che informa di sé i giovani danzatori i quali, vestiti di elmo e scudo, brandiscono una lancia o una spada (vedi fig. 28). Le melodie frigie dell'*aulos* avevano il potere di eccitare gli animi dei guerrieri e di spingerli al combattimento (Rouget 1986: 294–5). È celebre la scena raffigurata sul collo dell'*oinochoe* Chigi: un auleta, le canne del suo strumento puntate verso l'alto, marcia tra due drappelli di un esercito schierato in posizione di battaglia. Corre un legame sottile tra le rappresentazioni dell'ardore bellico trasmesso dall'*aulos* e quelle della *mania* teletica: in una immagine apula (fig. 29) che dovrebbe essere una versione locale di un modello figurativo importato dall'Attica, modello di cui figura 28 sarebbe un esemplare prototipico (Trendall e Cambitoglou 1978: 5), il suonatore di *aulos* viene sostituito da un sileno che assolve allo stesso compito. Iconografia della danza pirrica e rappresentazione di possessioni da parte di

spiriti guerreschi si sovrappongono e si confondono. A colmare — quantomeno sul piano figurale — la distanza che corre tra danza pirrica e iconografia della *mania* concorrono le numerose immagini di menadi che, in evidente stato di “furore”, danzano brandendo una spada e un capretto da scannare (figg. 30 e 31). Il termine *mania* peraltro veniva utilizzato anche

per dare l'idea della frenesia nel combattimento; in questo caso tale frenesia che, come è noto, nelle antiche società militari assunse spesso la forma di un'estasi guerriera, fu messa direttamente in relazione con l'intervento di un dio, specialmente di Ares, il quale era in effetti la personificazione o la deificazione di questo tipo di ebbrezza. [Jeanmaire 1972: 107–8]

Su un piatto di produzione apula (figg. 32 e 33) in uno scenario costellato dai consueti simboli della *mania* (vasi di diversa foggia, tamburelli, tirsi) sono raffigurate alcune menadi che ingaggiano una lotta a colpi di tirso. Un'altra menade, invasata dalla musica irrorata da un auleta che, sdraiato su una pelle ferina, si protende verso di lei, cammina nuda, un drappo sulle spalle, le braccia oscillanti, con un piglio ad un tempo sognante e imperioso e con un atteggiamento, se pur palesemente onirico, enfaticamente calmo e maestoso, assai diverso da quello agitato e scomposto più comunemente attribuito alle baccanti. Forse, in chi dei riti telestici avesse diretta conoscenza, questa immagine suscitava l'idea di una possessione eroica. In noi suscita — forse in modo arbitrario, tuttavia con immediata associazione — il ricordo di una fotografia scattata da Franco Pinna nel 1959 ad una tarantata, davanti alla chiesa di S. Paolo a Galatina (Lecce), dove le possedute, ultimata la terapia coreutico-musicale, vanno a chiedere grazia al santo delle tarante (fig. 34). Questa la descrizione, ad opera di Ernesto De Martino, della scena fissata nella fotografia di Pinna:

Un'altra tarantata è apparsa a un certo momento sulla porta della cappella, ha guardato con aria di sfida il pubblico che si accalca sulla via, e ha fatto cenno di farle ala: il pubblico ha ubbidito docilmente. Così la tarantata è passata con piglio altezzoso in mezzo alla duplice schiera, muovendosi lentamente e solennemente, e guardando negli occhi gli schierati, proprio come un alto ufficiale che passa in rivista le truppe. [*ibidem*: 116]

La danza armata ricorre frequentemente nelle più antiche testimonianze sul tarantismo (*ibidem*: 162–71). L'uso di spade, brandite nelle danze moresche (Ferdinando 1621: 259):

Generalmente tutti i tarantati amano quella sorta di musica che qui volgarmente è chiamata tarantella. Ve ne sono di molte specie, una chiamata *cinque tempi*, un'altra *panno verde*, un'altra *panno rosso*, un'altra *moresca*, e un'altra *spallata*, ma quest'ultima si danza molto raramente, le altre più spesso e ciascuno esegue quella che preferisce.

o usate per contemplare nel loro fulgore la propria immagine come in uno specchio (Corrado 1581–81: V, 171):

... etiam mulieres nonnullae gladium sibi volunt dare unum, aliae, ut Casina Plauti, duos, quorum sese splendore, tamquam speculo, intuentur.

ricorre anche nelle poche e sporadiche attestazioni iconografiche dei riti del tarantismo. In un ex-voto alla Madonna dell'Arco di Pomigliano, del XVII secolo, è raffigurato un bambino tarantato che danza impugnando uno spadino ornato di fiocchi colorati.³⁶ Dall'alto scende una fune, alla quale i tarantati nel corso della terapia coreutico-musicale a volte si aggrappavano lascian-

36 Vedi Rak e Giardino 1987:67, Staiti 1990a e Staiti 1990b: 132–3.



30. Cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, giovane nudo armato di una lancia ascolta un sileno auleta, IV sec. Già mercato di Basel. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1985: 18/311



31. Cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, giovane sileno con situla e tirso seguito da menade con spada, coniglio e pelle ferina drappeggiata addosso, IV sec. Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 2013 (inv. 81941). – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1985: 9/83



32. Cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, menade con capretto e spada seguita da sileno con torcia, IV sec. Nocera, collezione Fienga, 521. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1985: 4/53



33. Piatto di fabbrica apula, tre menadi, IV sec. Londra, British Museum, F 133. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1985: 10/190



34. Piatto di fabbrica apula, sileno, auleta e menade, IV sec. Londra, British Museum, F 133. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1985: 10/190

dosi cullare dal suo dondolio: e anche “questa pratica del tarantismo ha il suo antecedente classico nel simbolismo dell’*aiôresis*, dell’altalena come rito” (De Martino 1961: 209).³⁷ Un disegno fatto alla fine del XVII secolo dal viaggiatore tedesco Willem Skellinks (vedi Staiti 1990a) mostra due donne che, nell’aia di una casa rurale, danzano l’una di fronte all’altra. Una di esse, che ha in mano un fiore, tiene in bocca una spada infiocchettata. A sinistra, vicino i suonatori, si vedono alcuni oggetti del rito, tra i quali spicca lo specchio appeso alla parete, ornato di una treccia fiorita. Nella ricerca rituale dell’“altro da sé” i contadini della Puglia moderna — oppressi dalle fatiche del lavoro, dalla condizione sociale di marginalità, dalle miserie economiche — recitano nella cerimonia teletica un ruolo eroico e battagliero, un carnevale individuale in cui — nel tempo e nello spazio delimitati dalla musica e dalla danza — il mondo può girare alla rovescia e le pulsioni più oscure possono essere fatte affiorare pubblicamente.³⁸

Il problema dei rapporti tra riti di possessione e cerimonie pubbliche stagionali legate ai cicli della vegetazione è questione assai complessa, che coinvolge la definizione del concetto stesso di “festa”³⁹ per quanto certo non sia questa la sede per affrontarlo compiutamente, appare tutta-

37 Per quanto riguarda la funzione dell’altalena nei riti del tarantismo vedi De Martino 1961: 129–31; per quanto riguarda i suoi rapporti col simbolismo dell’*aiôresis* vedi De Martino 1961: 209–18.

38 Sul rapporto tra possessione e carnevale, con un esplicito uso del concetto di “carnevale individuale” legato al travestimento nei fenomeni di possessione, si veda Gallini 1988: 191–2.

39 Ai fini del nostro discorso, torna assai bene la definizione ad opera di Károly Kerényi della festa come orizzonte spazio-temporale all’interno del quale — e solo all’interno di esso — si compiono atti comprensibili solo su “un piano di esistenza umana diverso da quello quotidiano” (Kerényi 1950: 48). Questa definizione, naturalmente, attribuisce al vocabolo “festa” funzioni semantiche assai ampie, che non è qui il caso di definire e circoscrivere meglio: con la sola precisazione che le “feste” oggetto del nostro interesse in questa sede sono quelle legate ai cicli della vegetazione, e dunque ripetute annualmente secondo un calendario legato al rigenerarsi della terra: feste che, sia nel mondo antico che nell’Europa moderna, sono connesse all’apparizione di demoni e al controllo di queste presenze secondo schemi rituali codificati. Per una più ampia trattazione dell’argomento si rimanda comunque a Jesi 1977.

via ineludibile nel quadro della lettura dell'iconografia apula della *mania*, ed è giocoforza accostarvisi, sia pure assai sommariamente. Si è già constatato come, sia nell'iconografia antica che nei riti moderni del tarantismo, si riscontrino dei nessi modali e delle connessioni tematiche tra rappresentazione individuale della danza di possessione e rappresentazione collettiva dell'"altro da sé" effettuata pubblicamente nel corso dei riti di passaggio. Nel corso delle Dionisie al Lenoe, feste stagionali della vegetazione che si celebravano ad Atene durante l'inverno, venivano celebrati pubblicamente i riti orgiastici delle baccanti (Jeanmaire 1972: 42–5). Secondo Henri Jeanmaire

l'orgia delle cerimonie celebrate in pieno inverno sembra aver relazione con le invocazioni delle divinità ctonie la cui apparizione era la garanzia del prossimo risveglio della natura. [*ibidem*: 44]

La celebrazione delle Lenee, come del resto quella delle Anthesterie e di altre feste di rinnovamento stagionale, era dunque caratterizzata, al pari dei carnevali moderni,⁴⁰ dal manifestarsi delle potenze infernali e delle anime dei trapassati. Sostiene il stesso autore:

Certo è che ciascuno provava una precisa impressione di malessere, eco dell'avvenuto contatto col soprannaturale; malessere che si traduceva, fra gli Antichi, nell'idea di una colpa e nel bisogno di purificarsi. [1972: 51]

L'idea della colpa e della purificazione è intimamente legata ai meccanismi di adesione ai rituali di possessione; questa idea già traspare nelle modalità di determinazione della *mania* telestica:⁴¹

lo stato di possessione indica appunto l'inimicizia di una data divinità dovuta a qualche negligenza nei suoi riguardi, oppure è una prova di sollecitudine da parte sua [...] specialmente nel primo caso, lo stato di peccato implica una contaminazione quasi materiale la cui nocività dev'essere neutralizzata mediante purificazioni le quali possono comportare un'espulsione o un trasferimento, intesi in termini non meno materiali, dell'influenza nefasta. [*ibidem*: 117]

La stessa uccisione di Penteo da parte di Agave sua madre, ne *Le Baccanti* di Euripide, è un rito catartico attraverso il quale una peccatrice espia la colpa di aver resistito all'appello del dio (*ibidem*: 151).

La purificazione da una colpa commessa attraverso il rito, l'eliminazione del rimorso mediante la sottomissione ad un ordine diverso sono elementi che appartengono sia alla festa stagionale che alla *mania* telestica. Anche nel tarantismo l'idea di colpa e di purificazione è fortemente presente: attraverso la danza si elimina il veleno inoculato dalla *taranta*, il mitico ragno avvelenatore il cui morso, avverte De Martino, è in realtà il ricordo del cattivo passato che torna a mordere (peraltro, anche in questo caso, con una regolarità legata al ciclo stagionale); e una tarantata nel 1959, nel corso della somministrazione delle parole stimolo da parte della psicologa che faceva parte dell'equipe di De Martino, alla parola "morso" rispose: "rimorso che ti vien da piangere".⁴² E anche qui il rapporto con la divinità — nel nostro caso S. Paolo, il "santo delle tarante", alla cui cappella a Galatina si recano i tarantati al termine della terapia coreutico-musicale per depositare le offerte ed ottenere la grazia — è un rapporto ambivalente, nel quale il santo

40 Lo stesso Jeanmaire propone un confronto tra feste stagionali celebrate nell'antica Grecia e feste dei morti e Carnevale quali vengono celebrati nell'Europa moderna. Vedi Jeanmaire 1972: 45, 48, 50, 270–1; anche Rossi e De Simone 1977.

41 Vedi De Martino 1961: 199–241 e Jeanmaire 1972: 104–18.

42 Letizia Jervis-Comba, "Problemi di psicologia nello studio del tarantismo", in De Martino 1961: 313; vedi anche p. 75.

stesso appare come carnefice e come liberatore: *taranta* persecutrice e, al tempo stesso, nume al quale ci si rivolge per ottenere la grazia (De Martino 1961: 105–24). Il rapporto tra tarantismo e festa stagionale peraltro, anche al di là delle concordanze morfologiche e tematiche dei due apparati, va individuato nella regolarità stagionale dell'avvicinarsi delle crisi nei tarantati (*ibidem*: 88–100), nel legame che unisce il fenomeno nel suo complesso al culto di S. Paolo (*ibidem*: 105–24), nel fatto che i riti del tarantismo condividono i repertori musicali con le feste religiose e di Carnevale: la *pizzica tarantata*, i balli sul tamburo, i canti lirici a soggetto amoroso che vengono usati durante la terapia coreutico-musicale si ritrovano nelle danze collettive di Carnevale, della festa di S. Rocco, della festa di Ferragosto in tutto il Salento. Più in generale, va rilevato come la denominazione di *tarantella*, che già nell'etimologia denuncia il rapporto con il mitico ragno del tarantismo, sia utilizzata in tutta l'Italia meridionale per diversi modelli di danza, non tutti e non necessariamente immediatamente riconducibili all'universo della possessione e della sua rappresentazione coreutica. Alla luce di queste considerazioni si può forse riformulare l'affermazione secondo cui il manifestarsi stagionale delle crisi di prepossessione nel tarantismo sarebbe dovuto al fatto che "quest'ultimo è una pratica religiosa non del tutto integrata socialmente" (Rouget 1986: 98): la ricorrenza stagionale delle crisi sembra appartenere alla struttura profonda del sistema mitico-rituale cui afferiscono sia il tarantismo che i suoi antecedenti precristiani, ed è dovuta allo stretto rapporto funzionale, modale e tematico che il tarantismo intrattiene con il ciclo liturgico della religiosità popolare salentina. Nel corso delle terapie coreutico-musicali il posseduto, abbiamo detto prima, recita una sorta di "carnevale individuale"; allo stesso modo, il Carnevale (o la festa di rinnovamento stagionale in genere) appare come una forma di possessione collettiva e ordinata secondo logiche "festive" attraverso le quali riproporre in termini assoluti e non individuali la risoluzione di conflitti che appartengono alla collettività nel suo complesso e agli individui che la compongono. I riti di possessione, potremmo dire, stanno alla rappresentazione festiva dell'"altro da sé" come i matrimoni, come ogni matrimonio sta allo *hieros gamos* pubblicamente celebrato nel corso di cerimonie sacre, come ogni parto sta al prodigioso parto rinnovato ogni anno della Dea Madre. La cerimonia festiva, insomma, assolutizza e proietta in una dimensione mitica "morsi" e "rimorsi" di ogni individuo e di tutta la società, per assolvere su un piano globale e collettivo alla funzione di controllo e di assicurazione cui, su piani più particolari ed individuali assolvono i riti nuziali, i riti legati al parto, i riti della *mania*.

Gli Antichi di questo avevano maggiore consapevolezza di quanta non ne abbia conservata il mondo moderno: e le raffigurazioni apule della *mania* teletica ne sono tangibile testimonianza. Così, è assai arduo — e forse non è nemmeno necessario — distinguere in queste immagini quali elementi siano arrivati all'iconografia della possessione dal teatro, quali dalla rappresentazione festiva, quali ancora siano oggettivazioni di figure fantastiche approdate alla pittura direttamente e senza mediazioni dall'immaginario collettivo dei partecipanti ai riti. Il tarantismo non ha una sua iconografia, perché l'ambito culturale e sociale in cui si è sviluppato non glielo ha consentito, perché la consapevolezza del rapporto che corre tra il rito di possessione e il sistema religioso e festivo nella Puglia moderna, se pure presente nel sostrato profondo del sistema culturale, non può avere la forza di affermarsi anche in superficie. Se la avesse, S. Paolo sarebbe forse raffigurato accanto alla tarantata — che col santo delle tarante, a lei solo visibile, intrattiene relazioni: come la Madonna appare nelle illustrazioni delle sue epifanie tra pastorelli, come Dionysos appare a fianco delle menadi nello scenario che contraddistingue le immagini della *mania*.

Al centro del mondo fantastico di *daimones* che popolano le immagini della *mania* restano i suonatori e, soprattutto, le menadi. Esse, nel recitare il ruolo dell'"altro da sé", assumono diversi atteggiamenti che la tradizione iconografica ha isolato e cristallizzato in formule fisse e codifica-

te. Nell'iconografia antica della danza di possessione — scrive Gilbert Rouget (1986: 287) — si identificano due aspetti principali: quello “astratto” e quello “figurativo”, ciascuno dei quali abbiamo già incontrato in questa breve esplorazione della ceramografia apula. L'aspetto “astratto” è quello che illustra, mediante una serie di pose convenzionali e prive di funzione figurativa, i caratteri principali della danza di possessione, quali si ritrovano peraltro, oltre che nel tarantismo pugliese, anche in altre danze rituali catartiche: inarcamento del corpo, testa riversa all'indietro, movimenti rigidi e angolari degli arti. Questi gesti vengono fissati in una serie di modelli fissi e convenzionali, che si ritrovano ancora nella scultura dei sarcofagi romani di età imperiale e che finiranno per definire, nell'iconografia moderna che si ispira all'antico, il dionisiaco *tout court*.⁴³

L'aspetto “figurativo” invece illustra l'esecuzione da parte dei danzatori di figurazioni coreutiche organizzate, di rappresentazioni simboliche di gesti del lavoro o della vita quotidiana, di movimenti sessuali, di imitazioni del *daimon* che possiede il danzatore stesso o di alcuni animali che avevano precise connotazioni simboliche, legate alla fertilità, al sesso, alla potenza fisica e bellica, alla morte: il gallo, il toro, la vacca, la pantera, il daino. Le pelli ferine che spesso vengono raffigurate, nelle scene dionisiache, drappeggiate addosso alle baccanti in delirio (vedi figg. 12, 31 e 32) sono veri e propri travestimenti, approssimativi perché simbolici e rituali e, dunque, intenzionalmente non “ingannatori” o “mimetici”: non destinati cioè all'illusione scenica, ma utili all'identificazione teletica del posseduto con l'entità che lo possiede, con lo spirito incarnato (o, sarebbe meglio dire, con lo spirito in cui egli si trasferisce e mediante il quale risolve le proprie angosce e le proprie frustrazioni nel corso della terapia coreutica). Danzatrici e danzatori così, con la pelle della pantera indosso o stringendo in mano una lancia, una spada, un tirso, una spiga, un gallo o un capretto da scannare, si trasformano in belve libere e selvatiche, in feconde e possenti divinità della vegetazione, in guerrieri valorosi e sanguinari, in cacciatori che procurano l'abbondanza con il sacrificio delle vittime. I gesti forzati della fatica quotidiana sui campi, ripetuti ritualmente nel corso della danza diventano liberatorie identificazioni col seminare, il setacciare, l'arare, lo zappare assoluti e astratti “per potere divino” dallo sforzo concreto per divenire rappresentazioni teletiche della morte e resurrezione del mondo vegetale. Il trasporto dell'albero, tagliato nel bosco del mito e adorno dei nastri e degli addobbi del rito, è il segno del ritorno dell'abbondanza, è la mediazione tra natura e cultura, è la riproposizione regolata nella convenzione scenica della festa, della sequenza di caccia e agricoltura (Burkert 1987: 213–9). I gesti rappresentati o allusi negli elementi dell'apparato scenico diventano cioè assimilabili non più e non tanto alle reali attività lavorative umane, bensì alle “funzioni” protettive e garanti di prosperità cui presiedono le divinità agresti o comunque gli “dei che si nascondono lontano per tornare poi per la loro festa” (Burkert 1987: 215). In questa identificazione con la funzione e la stessa “soggettività” divine, così come nell'identificazione con l'animale magico, si può cogliere il legame profondo, anche se riqualificato e ricondotto a pratica “psicoterapeutica” e di reintegrazione sociale, tra il rituale possessorio di tipo “dionisiaco” e lo sciamanesimo.

Gli emblemi della *mania* teletica ricorrenti nella pittura vascolare, vi si è già accennato, trovano in larga parte riscontro nella tradizione popolare italiana e, in particolare, nell'apparato simbolico del tarantismo. Val la pena, a questo proposito, di riportare qui un passo del *De tarantule anatome et morsu* del medico leccese Nicola Caputo, pubblicato nel 1749, che trova riscontro in altre pubblicazioni sull'argomento e nel quale, anche al di là delle sforzature arcadiche, il legame con la tradizione dionisiaca appare evidente:

⁴³ Uno dei modelli più comuni in cui si fisserà l'immagine della baccante, replicato fino a epoche recenti, è quello di una donna danzante, un piede sollevato, la testa riversa all'indietro, un tamburello tenuto alto sopra la testa. Vedi Guizzi e Staiti 1989: 33. Dal Medioevo anche l'iconografia delle indemoniate si avvale di schemi di fissazione del movimento simili a quelli dell'aspetto “astratto” delle danze di *mania*: vedi Charcot e Richer 1986.

La camera da letto destinata al ballo dei tarantati sogliono adornare con rami verdeggianti cui adattano numerosi nastri e seriche fasce di sgargianti colori. Un consimile drappaggio dispongono per tutta la camera; e talora apprestano un tino, o una sorta di caldaia molto capace, colma d'acqua, e addobbata con pampini di vite e con verdi fronde di altri alberi; ovvero fanno sgorgare leggiadre fonticelle di limpida acqua, atte a sollevare lo spirito, e presso di queste i tarantati eseguono la danza, palesando di trarre da esse, come dal resto dello scenario, il massimo diletto. Quei drappi, quelle fronde e quei rivoli artificiali essi vanno contemplando, e si bagnano mani e capo al fonte: tolgono anche dal tino madidi fasci di pampini, e se ne cospargono il corpo interamente, oppure — quando il recipiente sia abbastanza capace — vi si immergono dentro, e così più facilmente sopportano la fatica della danza. Accade spesso che coloro i quali per città e casali vanno danzando accompagnati dalle solite musiche, si portano in qualche frutteto, dove all'ombra di un albero, presso un laghetto o un ruscello offerti dalla natura o apprestati dall'arte, si abbandonano al ballo con massimo diletto, mentre frotte di giovani in cerca di piaceri e di scherzi vi si danno convegno, ai quali son mescolati non pochi che ormai volgono alla vecchiaia, e che, contemplando con seria curiosità quelle melodiche follie, par che esortino con tacito ammonimento la gioventù... [Caputo 1741: 201, cit. in De Martino 1961: 127]

Ai drappi, ai “madidi fasci di pampini”, all'acqua si aggiungono, nei racconti di altri eruditi e nei resoconti degli etnologi, armi — e segnatamente spade — appese alle pareti o impugnate dai danzatori, funi appese al soffitto, gioielli, specchi:

Tutte le comari offrono — in prestito s'intende — fazzoletti, scialli, sciarpe, sottane, tovaglie d'ogni colore, vasi di basilico, di cedrina, di menta, di ruta, specchi e gingilli... [Caggiano 1931: 72–4, cit. in De Martino 1961: 131]

Negli specchi i tarantati di quando in quando, durante la danza, si contemplavano, traendo profondi sospiri. Nelle immagini antiche gli specchi appaiono di frequente in scene di *mania* telestica, impugnati da donne che vi si riflettono o sparsi sullo scenario assieme agli altri oggetti del rito. Essi, oltre ad essere attribuiti delle donne, utilizzati nelle immagini per segnalare l'appartenenza all'universo femminile dei riti delle menadi,⁴⁴ hanno, nei riti e nelle immagini che a questi riti appartengono, una funzione effettiva, nella quale convivono due aspetti opposti e concomitanti: lo specchio, da una parte, riconduce al sé chi vi si riflette; d'altra parte, rimanda l'immagine “eroica” del soggetto che vi si riflette, in preda alla *mania*, quando è altro da sé. L'immagine dipinta è, a sua volta, “specchio” eternato sulla superficie del vaso rituale: cavità nella quale si versa il liquido dell'ebbrezza (fig. 35) e dalla quale i tarantati attingevano l'acqua con cui — nel corso della cerimonia — detergevano le membra dal sudore e dal “veleno” espulso. Il vaso, posto nelle tombe, accompagna i defunti nell'aldilà, emblema dei riti in cui vita e morte si confondono nell'onirica celebrazione collettiva della rinascita stagionale, assicurazione tangibile — per gli iniziati che, nel corso della trance, conoscono uno stato liminare di contatto col mondo dei morti già nel corso della vita terrena — di continuità tra la luce del mondo e l'oscurità dell'Ade. Vasi di varia forma, sui quali sono raffigurate scene di *mania*, vengono spesso illustrati dalla pittura apula del IV secolo (figg. 36, 37 e 38). Su un'idria del Pittore di Atene 1714 (fig. 36) sono raffigurati due giovani e due donne attorno a un *naiskos* che contiene un'anfora, e sullo zoccolo del quale è visibile un motivo decorativo formato da tre *phialai* decorate con motivi solari simili a quelli che si ritrovano sui tamburelli illustrati altrove. Una delle due donne si china a posare accanto al *naiskos* un'*hydria*, sulla quale è chiaramente visibile la sagoma di una menade con un tamburello in mano. Due crateri a campana del pittore di Tarporley mostrano anch'es-

44 I riti della *mania* telestica, al pari di quelli del tarantismo, sono caratterizzati da una partecipazione a larga prevalenza femminile (vedi Jeanmaire 1972: 89), seppure, in ambedue i casi, si registri anche la presenza di posseduti di sesso maschile. Nell'iconografia apula, più ancora che in quella attica, si rileva una assoluta preponderanza delle donne in atteggiamento estatico.



35. Galatina (Lecce), 1959, tarantata tra la folla davanti alla chiesa di S. Paolo. – Foto: Franco Pinna

si dei vasi su cui appaiono scene di *mania*. Il primo (fig. 37), rinvenuto a Taranto, mostra una menade con un tirso che guarda una colomba appoggiata al dito indice della sua mano destra, accanto a Dioniso e a un sileno che stanno ai due lati di un cratere posato su un corto piedistallo, cratere sul quale si vedono le figure danzanti di un sileno e di una menade che agita un tamburello. Sul secondo (fig. 38) sono raffigurati Dioniso e un sileno ai due lati di un cratere a campana, sul quale, raffigurazione nella raffigurazione, è inscritta l'immagine di una menade che impugna un tamburello.

La relativa centralità della *mania* teletistica nella cultura greca — i culti legati alla *mania*, avverte Jeanmaire, non erano solo la religione dei disperati e degli emarginati (1972: 130–6 e 170) — forniva ai partecipanti ai riti dionisiaci possibilità di contestualizzazione e normalizzazione del proprio “furore” assai diverse da quelle che si schiudono, in epoca moderna, alle contadine del mezzogiorno d'Italia, la cui cultura e il cui ruolo sociale sono assolutamente marginali rispetto ai modelli egemoni. Nel mondo greco l'iniziato poteva identificarsi non soltanto con l'immagine “eroica” di sé restituitagli dallo specchio, ma anche con la scena raffigurata sul vaso: dunque sia con la rappresentazione dell'alterità incarnata nel suo corpo che con la celebrazione del proprio ruolo, eroico di per sé, di partecipante ai misteri dionisiaci: non più uomo o donna, ma guerriero, vacca, sileno, Dioniso stesso e, alla fine, soprattutto baccante, come poteva suggerirgli l'immagine di un “travestimento” non “mimetico” ma simbolico propositagli dal vaso dipinto. E forse proprio in ciò sta la specificità dell'iconografia antica: travestimento simbolico del rito teletistico e travestimento illusorio della festa stagionale si sovrappongono e convivono sulla medesima superficie dipinta: personaggi fantastici accompagnano donne in preda al “furore”, trasformate nell’“altro da sé” solo in virtù dei monili e delle pelli che indossano o degli emblemi che portano con sé.



36. Pittore della situla di Dublino, dinos di fabbrica apula, sileno tra due menadi versa vino in un cratere a calice illustrato con scena di *mania*. IV sec. Londra. British Museum. F 304. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1985: 15/33



37. Hydria di fabbrica apula, due donne e due giovani attorno a un naiskos. IV sec. Parigi. Cabinet des Médailles, 980. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1985: 8/169



38. Pittore di Tarporley, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, giovane sileno con oinochoe e phiale, giovane con tirso e donna con tirso e uccello; a terra cratere su cui sono raffigurati un sileno e una menade che impugna un tamburello, IV sec. Sidney, University-Nicholson Museum, 54.04. – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1985: 3/13

Nella pittura vascolare la *mania* telestica viene pubblicamente celebrata; straniamento collettivo del carnevale e straniamento individuale della possessione si sovrappongono e si sintetizzano in un'unica immagine onnicomprensiva. Per contro, nell'iconografia popolare moderna il travestimento illusorio della festa stagionale è cosa apparentemente assai lontana dal simbolismo della possessione, se pure, lo abbiamo visto, sotterraneamente ad esso riconducibile. Le poche immagini del tarantismo sono, già in epoche precedenti la nostra, *reportages* etnologici, come il disegno di Skellinks, o attualizzazioni arcadiche di miti antichi nelle quali i riti contadini vengono proiettati nell'aura dell'età dell'oro, come è il caso di numerose pitture settecentesche che adornano palazzi signorili (vedi Staiti 1990a). L'unica immagine conosciuta del tarantismo proveniente dal mondo popolare — e dunque interna alla cultura che del tarantismo ha diretta esperienza — è l'ex-voto di Pomigliano, nel quale il rito telestico non viene esibito con orgoglio ma attraverso il quale, al contrario, una madre chiede alla Madonna di liberare il figlio da questa rovinosa afflizione (vedi Staiti 1990b: 132–3). L'unica eccezione a questa tendenza, nella quale si riflette drammaticamente l'emarginazione e lo straniamento della cultura contadina, è quella che, quasi subliminalmente, corre nelle immagini dipinte sulla membrana dei tamburelli moderni: in esse — anche nelle più moderne ed edulcorate — la memoria delle scene raffigurate sui vasi antichi è ancora viva e nitida: uomini e donne, il tirso in mano, danzano come sileni e menadi in scenari agresti costellati di foglie di palma e pampini di vite (vedi figg. 38 e 39).

I vasi antichi, peraltro, come manufatti decorati e dipinti, se restano a noi come uniche testimonianze dell'arte pittorica greca, rappresentavano al momento della loro realizzazione poco più di un prodotto di tipo artigianale, e come tale di diverso e più basso livello di quanto non



39. Pittore di Tarporley, cratere a campana di fabbrica apula, sileno con tirso, giovane con tirso e kantharos; a terra cratere su cui è raffigurata una menade che impugna un tamburello, IV sec. Mercato di New York Eisenberg (già Londra, Sotheby). – Foto da Trendall e Cambitoglou 1985: 3/33

fosse la pittura parietale di cui nulla praticamente conosciamo, e, su un altro piano di espressione artistica, la scultura, cui era devoluta la più alta capacità di raffigurazione monumentale, di tono serio ed eroico. Pur esistendo artisti famosi e celebrati per la loro abilità nella confezione dei vasi dipinti, questi restano pur sempre, nella maggior parte dei casi, manufatti destinati ad usi diffusi e capillarmente fruiti nella quotidianità, che ovviamente comprendeva i rituali e le funzioni cerimoniali, soprattutto funebri, accanto ad occasioni meno formalizzate.⁴⁵ Dunque nella valutazione del significato delle immagini riprodotte sui vasi dobbiamo da una parte pensare al fatto che le scene mitiche o le situazioni rituali che esse rappresentano costituivano una specie di *editio minor* nei rispetti di quelle che dalle pareti degli edifici pubblici offrivano la visione degli stessi soggetti alla fruizione collettiva (se non altro perché le dimensioni stesse, nonché la collocazione entro l'orizzonte urbano "ufficiale", facevano delle pitture parietali un mezzo di comunicazione votato all'eloquenza propagandistica ed all'evocazione edificatoria e partecipativa); d'altra parte dobbiamo pensare che, a loro volta, molte delle raffigurazioni dell'immaginario mitico-eroico-religioso della Grecia antica realizzate per mezzo delle arti figurative erano probabilmente debitrice e "collaboratrice" di un processo di messa in scena, a volte preesistente, a volte sviluppatosi contemporaneamente, dello stesso immaginario, quale era quello del teatro: questo, come è sin banale ricordare, nelle sue origini si confonde in pieno con il rito, e, comunque, con la partecipazione collettiva ai riti veri e propri ha sempre mantenuto un rapporto dialettico di rispecchiamento e di riflessione critica: e proprio *Le Baccanti* di Euripide è esemplare testimonianza di questo rapporto dialettico (*ibidem*: 137–57, 304).

45 Su questo aspetto si veda Mitchell Havelock 1981: 133–66; in particolare, a p. 161, la Parte terza, "L'arte privata".

Se dunque ci troviamo oggi a tentare di interpretare il nodo problematico costituito dalla “concordanza morfologica” tra elementi, situazioni e, probabilmente, funzioni del rito dionisiaco come lo vediamo illustrato nella pittura vascolare greca, da una parte, e, dall’altra, come crediamo di “rivederlo” in parte almeno rivissuto nel tarantismo pugliese dell’epoca moderna, dobbiamo riflettere sul valore degli stereotipi figurativi che troviamo enunciati nei vasi antichi e ribaditi nel comportamento rituale moderno.

Il fatto che gli stereotipi del comportamento “dionisiaco” si ritrovino invariati lungo i secoli si può spiegare in vari modi, il primo dei quali, il più semplice, non esce dall’ambito della tautologia: lo stereotipo è tale proprio in quanto mostra una continuità dei *significanti* nel tempo e nello spazio, indipendentemente da una corrispondente continuità dei *significati*. Quando dunque si verifica un fenomeno di continuità tematica (o anche “modale” o funzionale), è decisivo indagare sull’esistenza e l’efficacia dei meccanismi di trasmissione degli elaborati significanti (nel nostro caso le raffigurazioni), per giustificarne la definizione in termini di stereotipo. Le cose si complicano quando si assiste alla diffusione all’interno della cultura orale di uno stereotipo, definito come tale entro una cultura “alta”; ciò non tanto perché non esistano anche in quest’ambito precisi meccanismi di trasmissione che comunicano anche con realtà esterne, quanto perché è più difficile ammettere contatti e scambi interculturali diretti tra livelli diversi, capaci di fondare il trapasso da forme figurali ad atteggiamenti comportamentali. Ciò almeno sembrerebbe evidente nel caso di comportamenti di popolane dell’Italia meridionale pressoché analfabete che nulla sanno della Grecia antica, dei suoi rituali e delle loro raffigurazioni pittoriche. In altri termini, mentre la ripetizione di un modello nella cultura figurativa posteriore, ad esempio nell’arte rinascimentale, si spiega con il consapevole ricorso al repertorio di immagini su cui si fonda l’idea stessa di classicità che quella cultura ha ritenuto di costruirsi, lo stesso fenomeno appare invece difficilmente ipotizzabile nel caso della ripetizione di tali modelli rappresentativi all’interno della cultura orale.

Si dovrebbe dunque ricorrere in questi casi a qualcuna di quelle spiegazioni che consentono di aggirare il problema dei meccanismi di trasmissione tra epoche e culture, quale potrebbe essere quella che ritenga di individuare gli “universali” del comportamento possessivo in un complesso di atteggiamenti psicosomatici indipendenti dal contesto storico-culturale della loro manifestazione, essendo dettati invece da precise cause fisiologiche e psicopatologiche; oppure si dovrebbe ricercare una sorta di rete sotterranea di comunicazione culturale, e ritenere quindi che la conservatività delle forme originarie sia garantita da legami invisibili ed inconsci, comunque così potenti da agire sotto la “superficie” della storia con un’inerzia contrapposta alle forze del cambiamento capace di prevalere su ogni possibile dinamica dello sviluppo culturale. Si dovrebbe cioè ricorrere, in altre parole, a concetti interpretativi come quelli definibili con termini quali “strutture” culturali, o “funzioni” invarianti, o ancora “archetipi” dell’immaginario collettivo: i quali concetti (pur così diversi tra loro) non sono destituiti necessariamente di fondamento scientifico, ma sono comunque certamente insufficienti a spiegare le cause della sopravvivenza di alcune specifiche manifestazioni culturali, a fronte della mancata sopravvivenza di altre.

È pur vero che un fondamento fisiologico, spiegabile dunque secondo un criterio “naturalistico”, può essere facilmente addotto a spiegazione di molte manifestazioni dei processi di destrutturazione degli stati di coscienza “normali” nel momento del passaggio a stati di coscienza “alternativi”; ma con tale spiegazione il problema non è risolto, ma solo riproposto ad altro livello, poiché il venir meno di una forma di controllo del comportamento basata su presupposti normativi sociali, apre necessariamente la strada ad altri comportamenti psicomotori, ciascuno dipendente a sua volta da regole culturali in larga parte “arbitrarie”. L’insieme di queste regole è poi socialmente organizzato all’interno di un complesso rituale che dà senso alle forme “individuali” di comportamento entro lo stato di possessione. L’ipotesi del fondamento fisio-psicologico di

tipo "naturalistico" può dunque essere utile strumento di spiegazione delle manifestazioni che Rouget definisce astratte nel comportamento coreutico del posseduto; essa invece non regge a spiegazione della conformità in manifestazioni di tipo "figurativo" (sempre usando l'interpretazione di Rouget). Ma anche per le prime giova ricordare, per quanto attiene all'aspetto che qui più interessa, e cioè quello della raffigurazione delle forme di abbandono nei riti catartici, che l'insieme degli stereotipi che agiscono in questo campo, e di cui si è già detto in abbondanza, sono precisamente riducibili ad un codice "figurativo" che possiamo considerare come l'altra faccia, quasi l'opposto speculare, della tradizionale rappresentazione formale, nella pittura vascolare greca, ed anche nella plastica, della compostezza, dell'austerità comportamentale e dell'atteggiamento del corpo, soprattutto delle donne.

Per quanto qui interessa, si potrebbe dire a proposito delle "concordanze" di tipo "figurativo" che il complesso rituale di cui ci occupiamo, sia in quello antico che in quello moderno, dipende, da una parte, da un mito nella cui formulazione storicamente determinata entrano in gioco elementi tra i più "profondi" dell'elaborazione mitica, e cioè quelli che riguardano il rapporto natura — cultura, il controllo delle forze irrazionali, lo scambio tra mondo dei vivi e mondo dei morti, il potere dei suoni e della musica, ecc.; d'altra parte, in entrambi casi il complesso rituale è organizzato attraverso una partecipazione "stratificata" dei suoi officianti, tra i quali spiccano per la loro funzione i "maestri" del rito, tra i quali ancora i musicisti rivestono un ruolo fondamentale. Certamente la partecipazione al rituale non può essere ridotta solamente ai musicisti e al soggetto della trance: se questi sono gli officianti, identificabili nel ruolo rispettivo di maestro regolatore dell'esperienza dell'estasi, da una parte, e, dall'altra, di iniziando che percorre per la prima volta il cammino dello straniamento e della riconquista della coscienza, non meno importanti sono gli spettatori, che rappresentano la comunità culturalmente attivata nella celebrazione della tradizione rituale. Ma il detto di Platone, secondo cui "molti sono quelli che portano il *narthex*, ma pochi sono *bakchoi*" (Fedone 69c; citato da Burkert 1991: 148), riconduce esattamente alla doppia verità, che vede da un lato la partecipazione ai misteri come fatto culturale generale, e, dall'altro, la capacità di compiere l'esperienza eccezionale dell'estasi come fatto riservato ad alcuni individui speciali: dunque a persone dotate di "doni medianici che sono di là dalla portata di molti" (gli estatici), ma anche di "determinate tecniche per controllare l'esperienza" (i terapeuti) (Burkert 1991: 148). È necessario che questo aspetto, qui solo ipotizzato, ma non in modo del tutto indipendente da quanto è rinvenibile nella ricerca sul campo, sia opportunamente approfondito, perché ci pare che, al di là dell'importanza nodale del problema posto, il ruolo del musico-terapeuta nella conservazione e nella trasmissione delle norme del rituale, e non solo nella loro attuazione nell'esercizio della terapia, costituisca comunque un campo di indagine relativamente trascurato. La nostra impressione è che ci si possa trovare di fronte ad una sorta di apparente paradosso, secondo il quale i terapeuti della "malattia" siano anche in un certo senso i reali "portatori" del "contagio", e cioè i veri veicoli di trasmissione e di perpetuazione di quelle *forme* di comportamento, di quelle *visioni* di sé nel processo di possessione, e cioè, in altre parole, di quelle *norme* culturali fondamentali di cui è fatto il complesso psicomotorio della possessione, che attendono solo di incontrarsi con le ragioni psicopatologiche individuali e con i moventi più profondi della crisi di carattere sociale, per dare vita al fenomeno ricondotto in via "emica" al morso del ragno (o a qualsiasi altra causa esterna convenzionalmente scatenante l'alterazione della coscienza). Né si può obiettare che non v'è prova dell'"istigazione" attribuibile in via diretta agli officianti, nei confronti dei protagonisti passivi della possessione: è evidente che l'aderenza minuziosa del comportamento di questi ultimi alle regole formali fissate nella tradizione (dunque la sintomatologia complessiva e la conformità ai modi della guarigione) scaturisce dalla conoscenza *ex posteriore*, di cui tutti i membri della comunità dispongono, di quanto avviene ai tarantati (o posseduti che

siano) sotto gli occhi della comunità che partecipa in qualità di pubblico al ciclo rituale; e che tale conoscenza deriva dunque dall'esperienza diretta di chi ha già assistito al fenomeno, o da quella indiretta di chi ne ha ripetutamente ascoltato le descrizioni; ma è altrettanto indubbio che, mentre il "pubblico" delle sedute musico-terapeutiche varia di volta in volta, almeno in parte, i musicisti sono sempre gli stessi, per il loro ruolo professionale, per lunghi periodi di tempo e per buona parte del territorio interessato dal fenomeno; essi inoltre derivano la loro condizione di professionisti dalla cooptazione operata oculatamente dal più anziano, o comunque più autorevole, di loro (tradizionalmente, nel più recente tarantismo, il violinista o il percussionista) nel corso del tempo, in modo da garantire una continuità del gruppo che si inserisce in quella più generale iscritta entro le regole della tradizione orale da una generazione all'altra. A questi garanti della corretta esecuzione del rito può dunque essere fatta risalire anche la trasmissione delle sue regole, e cioè la conservazione e la riproposizione in forma continuativa e reiterata di molte delle modalità concrete generali in cui si manifesta la specifica "miscela", storicamente determinata, degli ingredienti fondamentali del mito, nonché, soprattutto, delle modalità concrete particolari che interessano il loro ruolo; ed ecco dunque perché, ad esempio, nonostante che i musicisti abbiano mostrato di saper assecondare i processi di trasformazione e di modernizzazione che investono lo strumentario musicale, esso resta fundamentalmente invariato, quanto meno nei ruoli simbolici e funzionali. Il violinista che guida l'orchestrina di Nardò che è, oggi, l'unica ancora attiva in Salento, è un barbiere. I testi di "canzoni a ballo" che si riferiscono ai riti del tarantismo raccolti in Sicilia nei primi anni del secolo da Alberto Favara⁴⁶ fanno esplicita menzione della figura del barbiere-musico-terapeuta, del quale si chiede l'intervento risanatore (1957: 434, n. 736): "Mi pizzica, mi muzzica, mi muzzica lu peri,/Va chiamatimi, chiamatimi chiamatimi a 'u varveri."⁴⁷ Anche questi brani, secondo le osservazioni di Favara, venivano accompagnati da violini, e la struttura musicale è quella di una tarantella. È lecito ritenere che anche qui l'esecutore fosse un barbiere: il quale è noto che praticava salassi e purghe, applicava mignatte, assolveva, insomma, al ruolo di "stregone" e di guaritore per la comunità cui apparteneva.

Purga e flebotomia erano nel Medioevo misura "igienica" *primaverile*, dove per "purga" e per "igiene" è da intendersi il ripristino di un ordine che non è soltanto somatico, ma anche psichico e morale, secondo il simbolismo della catartica. [De Martino 1961: 233]

Dunque il controllo dell'esecuzione musicale e l'utilizzazione dello strumento che guida l'identificazione con l'"altro da sé" sono affidati al maestro del rito, al barbiere-flebotomo, allo "stregone". Il quale, peraltro, è custode della memoria collettiva della comunità, e, in ragione della sua sapienza, garantisce il corretto svolgimento del rito.

Ciò detto, a proposito della corrispondenza tra forme della *mania* della Grecia antica e del complesso mitico-rituale del tarantismo, occorre affermare con chiarezza che la miscela degli elementi considerati, pur nella compresenza di ingredienti comuni sia di tipo "naturale" che di tipo "culturale", resta complessivamente diversa pur nelle analogie dei due casi indagati. Del resto lo stesso Ernesto De Martino, cui si deve il più approfondito lavoro di comparazione tra tarantismo e gli antecedenti classici, è molto esplicito sull'originalità del fenomeno da lui indagato, e molto opportunamente premette alla stessa trattazione del suo commentario storico l'avvertenza secondo cui deve essere evitato il duplice pericolo della "riduzione al tipo" e della "riduzione agli antecedenti": la prima "nasce dalla tentazione di considerare il tarantismo come un caso particolare di una vastissima classe di fenomeni"; la seconda nasce "dalla tentazione di considerare il taranti-

46 Favara 1957: 433-5, nn. 734, 735, 736, 737, 738.

47 "Mi pizzica, mi morde, mi morde il piede, Andate, chiamatemi, chiamatemi, chiamatemi il barbiere."

smo come “relitto” o “sopravvivenza” di corrispondenti elementi rintracciabili nel mondo classico” (1961: 187). Peraltro lo stesso autore, in una delle numerosissime annotazioni pubblicate postume nel volume su *La fine del mondo*, più tardi ebbe a riferirsi al tarantismo per esemplificare una meditazione metodologica ispiratagli da Lévi-Strauss: la sopravvivenza di un fenomeno culturale può essere

la testimonianza di una inerzia di ciò che ha perduto la sua ragione di essere, e in altri casi la testimonianza di una ragione d'essere tanto fondamentale da esser l'ultima a morire [...] Ciò racchiude un avvertimento metodologico, e che cioè nei frammenti superstiti di sistemi culturali scomparsi più o meno disorganicamente e subalternamente ricompresi in sistemi culturali egemonici (per esempio il tarantismo pugliese superstiti nell'Italia meridionale di oggi) sono da ravvisare i nuclei vitali dei sistemi scomparsi, la loro parte “più resistente” alla trasformazione e che continua ad assolvere, sia pure in forma attenuata e limitata, la loro funzione fondamentale. In generale questi frammenti superstiti hanno subito a loro volta influenze da parte della cultura egemonica, cioè trasformazioni sincretistiche di varia qualità (per esempio il sincretismo col culto di san Paolo nel caso del tarantismo salentino); si sono inoltre immensamente impoveriti di significati e di funzione rispetto a quando entravano organicamente nei sistemi culturali cui appartenevano: tuttavia le trasformazioni sono “esteriori” e l'impoverimento lascia meglio trasparire la funzione fondamentale. Percepiti in *statu moriendi* questi frammenti superstiti possono concorrere, insieme a documentazioni ed analisi di altro tipo e più dirette, a farci comprendere la nascita e la maturità del sistema scomparso così come i limiti di espansione e di unificazione del nuovo sistema che li conserva tuttavia come frammenti. [De Martino 1977: 411–2]

Quanto a “frammenti superstiti” e a “funzioni fondamentali”, quale maggiore grado di identità funzionale e quale migliore capacità di sopravvivenza si può immaginare oltre il quadro dell'iniziazione bacchica rappresentato dal musicologo Aristide Quintiliano, confrontato con i resoconti sul tarantismo fornitici dalla moderna etnologia?⁴⁸

Questo è tuttavia un discorso che ci porta lontano dal tema di cui ci stiamo occupando. Gli accenni fatti in questa direzione ci servono nondimeno per considerare in modo più chiaro lo “spirito” delle rappresentazioni della possessione regolata dalla musica nell'arte greca.

Infatti, la riproposizione di modelli di comportamento che nei rituali di possessione di tradizione orale, a noi contemporanei, ripetono forme rappresentative dell'apparato rituale dionisiaco mostrato dalla pittura vascolare, getta una luce interpretativa “retrospettiva” su questo stesso repertorio di immagini: se da una parte, infatti, sia il complesso rituale dionisiaco dell'antichità, sia il tarantismo nato nel Medioevo e protrattosi sino ad oggi, sono entrambi manifestazioni specifiche, e ciascuna originale, di un più profondo sostrato mitico-rituale di tipo iniziatico femminile, comune a tutto il mondo mediterraneo, tanto che non si può piattamente considerare il fenomeno più moderno diretto erede di quello più antico, d'altra parte è indubbio che la rappresentazione figurale del mito, del rito, e delle manifestazioni presenti al loro interno trova la sua prima fondazione nell'arte figurativa greca, e che quindi con essa devono essere fatti direttamente i conti per quanto riguarda la “fortuna” degli stereotipi visivi della possessione e della sua catarsi musicale; ancora una volta ci viene in aiuto un'osservazione di Walter Burkert (1991: 34), il quale, quanto meno a proposito della particolare fioritura di scene dionisiache nel-

48 Citato *supra* (vedi p. 49). Ci pare tuttavia opportuno riproporre qui lo stesso passo nella sua traduzione proposta nel testo di Burkert (Burkert 1991: 149 — Il suo riferimento bibliografico: Aristide Quintiliano 3, 25, p. 129, 12–5 Winnington-Ingram): “È questo il fine dell'iniziazione bacchica, che l'ansia depressiva (*ptoiesis*) della gente meno istruita, prodotta dalle condizioni della loro vita o da qualche disgrazia, venga eliminata mediante le melodie e le danze del rito in maniera gioiosa e gaia.” Ci sembra infatti che in questa versione risalti in modo ancor più straordinario la modernità dell'analisi e la sua aderenza con il punto di vista sul tarantismo di Ernesto De Martino: il quale, a sua volta, cita l'autore del II secolo d. C. nella più “classicheggiante” traduzione che abbiamo riportato più indietro.

la pittura vascolare apula legate al culto funerario, osserva che, dovendo ammettere che “si deve [...] notare che non è possibile dimostrare, ed è anzi tutt’altro che probabile, che ciascuna tomba apula contenente vasi bacchici o ciascun sarcofago dionisiaco del secondo o terzo secolo d. C. fosse destinato a contenere un iniziato dionisiaco”, poiché “l’iconografia segue percorsi suoi propri”, si arriva a concludere che “è stato il culto di Dioniso a fornire una forma di espressione artistica, una *façon de parler*, se non di più, in risposta alla stridente insensatezza della morte.” In altri termini, quei repertori rappresentativi dell’apparato rituale dionisiaco si svelano come il risultato della fissazione di forme espressive in cui si condensa, da un lato, la sintesi di esperienze rituali complesse e, dall’altro, l’analitica traduzione delle esperienze rituali stesse in un catalogo di stereotipi figurativi. Nelle immagini dipinte sui vasi si manifesta non solo, e forse non tanto, una rassegna delle molteplici fasi in cui il rito poteva esprimersi, quanto la prima codificazione dei momenti e dei modi fondamentali in cui un rituale poteva e “doveva” essere raffigurato. Al di là dunque del problema — che qui, nonostante la timida formulazione di alcune semplici ipotesi esplicative, lasciamo ampiamente irrisolto — delle cause della continuità, o comunque di quella che abbiamo definito la “concordanza morfologica”, tra forme del passato e comportamenti del presente, possiamo affermare che il confronto tra questi e quelle suggerisce un percorso interpretativo di “andata e ritorno”: il presente fornisce cioè sufficienti informazioni sul ruolo della musica, sui ruoli dei partecipanti al rito e sulle rispettive modalità di comportamento, che diventano convincenti indizi interpretativi del significato delle immagini pittoriche del passato; queste rinviano alla realtà di cui esse erano il riflesso, in termini di formalizzazione simbolico-figurale, e di cui altrimenti conosceremmo la descrizione complessiva, grazie alle fonti letterarie, ma non la sua apparenza formale e “visiva”; in tal modo esse stabiliscono, nell’area mediterranea magno-greca, le fondamenta iconiche (la *façon de parler* di Burkert) di ogni successiva raffigurazione di cerimonie in cui la musica interviene a regolare e sciogliere la crisi dei posseduti; così le immagini della pittura vascolare si pongono quale “archetipo” (quanto meno in senso cronologico) della visualizzazione permanente, capace cioè di sopravvivere nel tempo e di trasferirsi nello spazio (e per quest’ultima possibilità il supporto vascolare è tra i più adatti, come è ovvio), e dunque di “agire”, attraverso le vie complesse della trasmissione culturale, da referente simbolico, da significante, anche per significati eventualmente differenti, purché sufficientemente simili o assimilabili negli elementi formali più rilevanti.

Dalla realtà del presente dunque, attraverso la sua visualizzazione formale, alla raffigurazione del passato; dalla raffigurazione del passato, in forma indiziaria, alla realtà ad essa ancora anteriore, in termini non semplicemente cronologici; e, ancora, da quest’ultima, proprio grazie alle immagini, al tempo posteriore, in virtù della forza originaria conferita dall’avvenuta formalizzazione visiva ai modi della possessione. In questo percorso si conferma la sostanziale identità di importanti elementi costitutivi delle due esperienze rituali, tra i quali quelli relativi al ruolo della musica. Ma si conferma anche la profonda ambiguità dell’immagine: non solo perché essa, oltre un certo limite, può trarre in inganno, se non la si interpreta alla luce di ulteriori informazioni, esterne rispetto ad essa; ma anche perché essa ha un potere straordinario, che la fissazione delle forme nell’“eternità” della realizzazione pittorica non fa che esaltare, e che consiste nella capacità di suggerire l’esistenza di una realtà ad essa corrispondente, per il solo fatto che essa la rappresenta secondo forme codificate.

Ecco dunque che, avendo cercato di sfuggire al ragionamento tautologico, e avendo cercato di interpretare le figure per mezzo della “vita reale”, ci troviamo a concludere ribadendo l’apparente ovvietà della differenza, al fondo irriducibile, tra realtà e rappresentazione pittorica: per affermare però con convinzione che quest’ultima non è meno reale della prima. Con il permesso, se è lecito chiederlo, del Platone della *Repubblica* e del *Sofista*.

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Music both high and low: Tancred of Lecce enters Palermo, 1190

Alfred Büchler

To the memory of Howard Mayer Brown

In January 1190, Tancred of Lecce, illegitimate son of Count Roger of Apulia and grandson of King Roger II, entered Palermo to receive the Sicilian crown.¹ In his *Liber ad honorem Augusti* (ca. 1195–96) Peter of Eboli gives a picture of this scene (fig. 1).² The drawing is perhaps the earliest contemporary representation of secular festivities of this kind in the West since the days of Rome. Tancred is preceded by soldiers, horses, members of his court and, what is of interest here, eight musicians with wind instruments, drums, and cymbals. In a musicological context, this drawing has been briefly described by Sabine Žak (1979: 76), but it deserves closer examination. There is, of course, the question as to the nature of the actual instruments that may be referred to; there is also the question of their significance when seen in the context of Peter of Eboli's poem. The work is dedicated to the Hohenstaufen Emperor Henry VI who, for the poet, is the legitimate claimant of the Sicilian throne. In contrast to the emperor, Tancred is a ridiculous and contemptible usurper:³ "Quam bene", writes Peter, "convenient redimito cimbala mimo!"⁴ (fig. 1). Later in the manuscript, the entry of the victorious Henry VI into Palermo is shown; significantly, his musical escort involves wind instruments only (fig. 2).⁵ The musical instruments shown in the two drawings thus have to be examined both as representations of physical objects and in terms of their symbolic meaning — one is tempted to say, in terms of their social standing in the twelfth-century Mediterranean. Only then can an attempt be made to relate the drawings to the accounts of similar festivities given by twelfth- and thirteenth-century chronicles.⁶ Both goals will be pursued in this article. First, however, something must be said about the historical background of Peter of Eboli's poem and the nature of its illustrations.

1 Clementi 1967. Chalandon 1907: 419–1 is still fundamental for Sicilian history between 1189 and 1196. Norwich 1970: 356–92 gives a useful survey of the period, with good illustrations and some comments on the two principal sources, Peter of Eboli and "Hugo Falcandus" (pp. 406–7). A brief account based on recent research appears in Matthew 1992: 285–91, but while bibliographies are given for individual chapters, the absence of references makes it difficult to follow up individual points.

2 Berne, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 120, fol. 102r. Rota 1904: 31; Siragusa 1906: II, pl. VIII.

3 Articles in *Studi su Pietro da Eboli 1978* by Pandimiglio, Frova and Frugoni deal with Peter of Eboli's political attitudes as expressed both in the text of the poem and in its illustrations.

4 "How well do the cymbals fit the crowned impostor". Rota 1904: 32, line 190; Siragusa 1906: I: 18, line 190.

5 Rota 1904: 160; Siragusa 1906: II, pl. XL.

6 See, for example, Robert de Clari's vivid account of the pomp and glitter that surrounded the departure of the Crusaders' fleet from Venice in December 1202 for the Fourth Crusade. The fleet was accompanied by "chent paire de busines, que d'argent que d'arain, qui toutes sonnerent a l'esmouvoir [= at the departure], et tant de tymbres et tabours et autres estruments, que c'estoit une fine merveille." (Robert de Clari 1924: 13; 1952: 25, with slightly modernized spelling).

The manuscript and its illustrations

The *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, or *Carmen de rebus Siculis*, is preserved in a single, richly illustrated manuscript in the Burgerbibliothek in Berne.⁷ The poem is divided into three books. The first two books, substantially completed in 1194, give a detailed and highly partisan account of the passing of Sicily from Norman to Hohenstaufen rule. The third book, dating from 1196, is a panegyric addressed to the dedicatee, Emperor Henry VI.⁸ In 1189, Henry had claimed the Sicilian crown by virtue of his position as the husband of Constance, daughter of Roger II of Sicily and legitimate heiress of the Kingdom. Within Sicily, however, challenges were raised to Henry's claim, and in 1190 Count Tancred of Lecce was actually crowned as King of Sicily.

If the last book of Peter of Eboli's poem is a panegyric addressed to the Hohenstaufen claimant, the first two books are to a good extent devoted to a sustained invective directed at the "usurper", Tancred.⁹ In the Berne codex, which probably was originally intended as a presentation copy, the verbal invective of the text is matched by caricature in the illustrations. In *figure 1*, the dwarf-like figure of Tancred on his horse stands in contrast to the large figures of the courtiers who precede him. In the manuscript, each page of the text is matched by a full-page illustration, the drawing on the right-hand page facing the text on the left. Discussions of the work invariably mention the vividness with which the illustrations render contemporary scenes and events.¹⁰ Even so, the manuscript as a whole has never been studied from an art-historical point of view, except for some remarks by Frugoni (1978) and Georgen (1981). Otto Demus (1949: 411) has pointed out the presence of Byzantine, South Italian (Benedictine) and Islamic elements in the drawings, and the participation of several hands in their execution. It can be assumed, however, that the illustrations were executed under Peter of Eboli's direct supervision; in some cases, they supplement the narrative of the poem rather than merely illustrating it.¹¹

In creating the illustrations, the artists drew upon a wide variety of models and iconographic formulas, including motifs of New Testament iconography (Frugoni 1978: 149). At the same time, the development of new images was limited by the graphical techniques available to the draftsmen; thus, for instance, the possibility of creating illusionistic or perspectival renderings of three-dimensional objects or scenes did not exist. In trying to evaluate the artists' rendering of the musical instruments with which we are concerned, it is therefore useful to examine first two of the details of *figure 1* whose models can be established with some certainty.

The rendering of the three figures with wind instruments (*fig. 3*) is taken from Byzantine models, as is seen when they are compared with a group of figures in the Joshua Roll, itself a tenth-century simulation, or possibly copy, of a late-antique rotulus (*fig. 4*).¹² The artist's relation to his models is particularly evident in the case of the musician pointing his instrument in the

7 Cod. 120. Both Rota 1904 (*De rebus siculis carmen*) and Siragusa 1906 (*Liber ad honorem Augusti*) give fully illustrated editions of the manuscript.

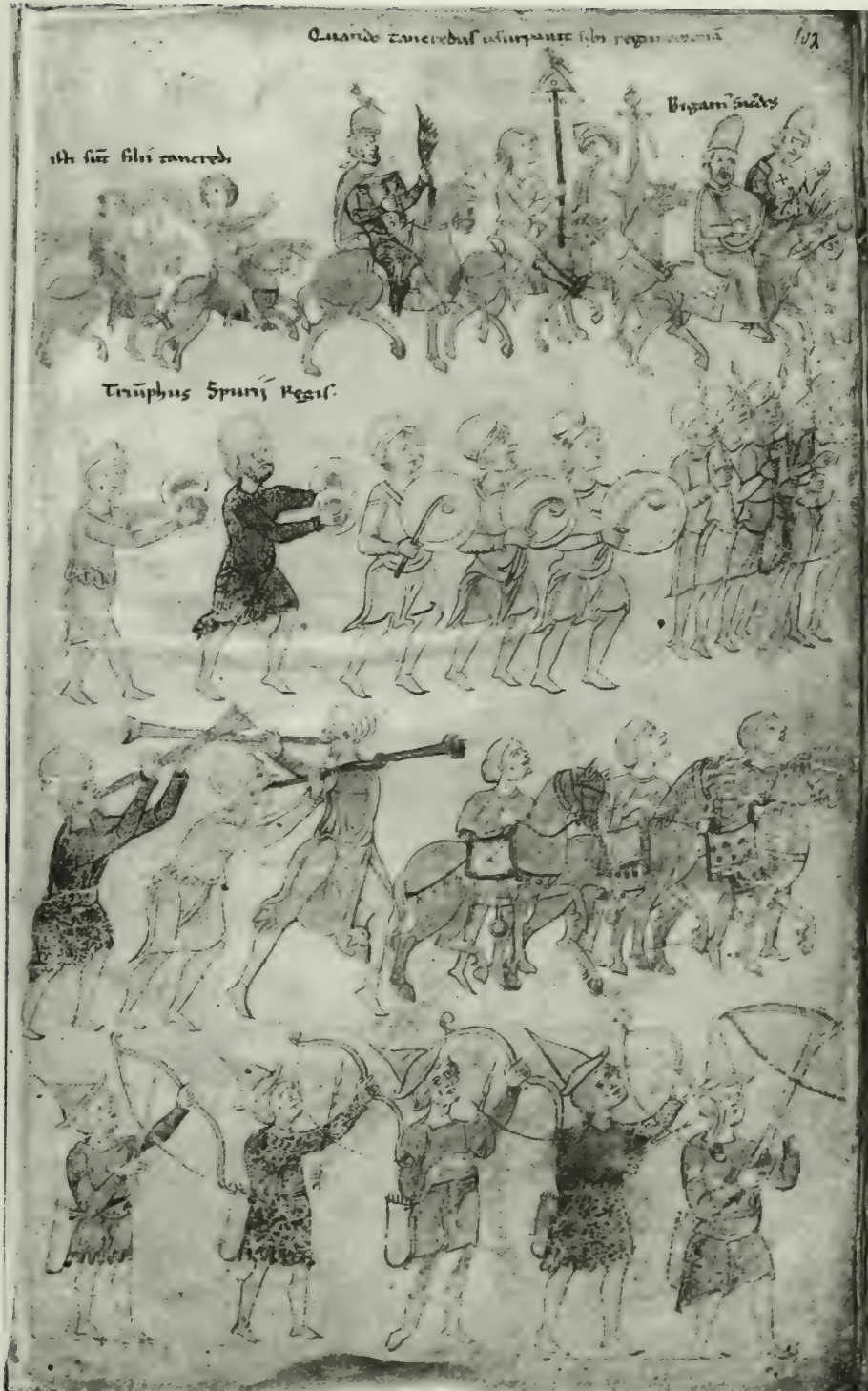
8 Both Rota and Siragusa discuss the structure of Peter of Eboli's poem in the introductions to their editions. For more recent analyses, see Miglio 1978: *passim*, and Frugoni 1978: 167–9.

9 In the text corresponding to *fig. 1*, Tancred is referred to as *vetus monstrum*, *nature crimen*, *aborsum*, *simia*, *semivir* (Rota 1904: 32; Siragusa 1906: I, 17).

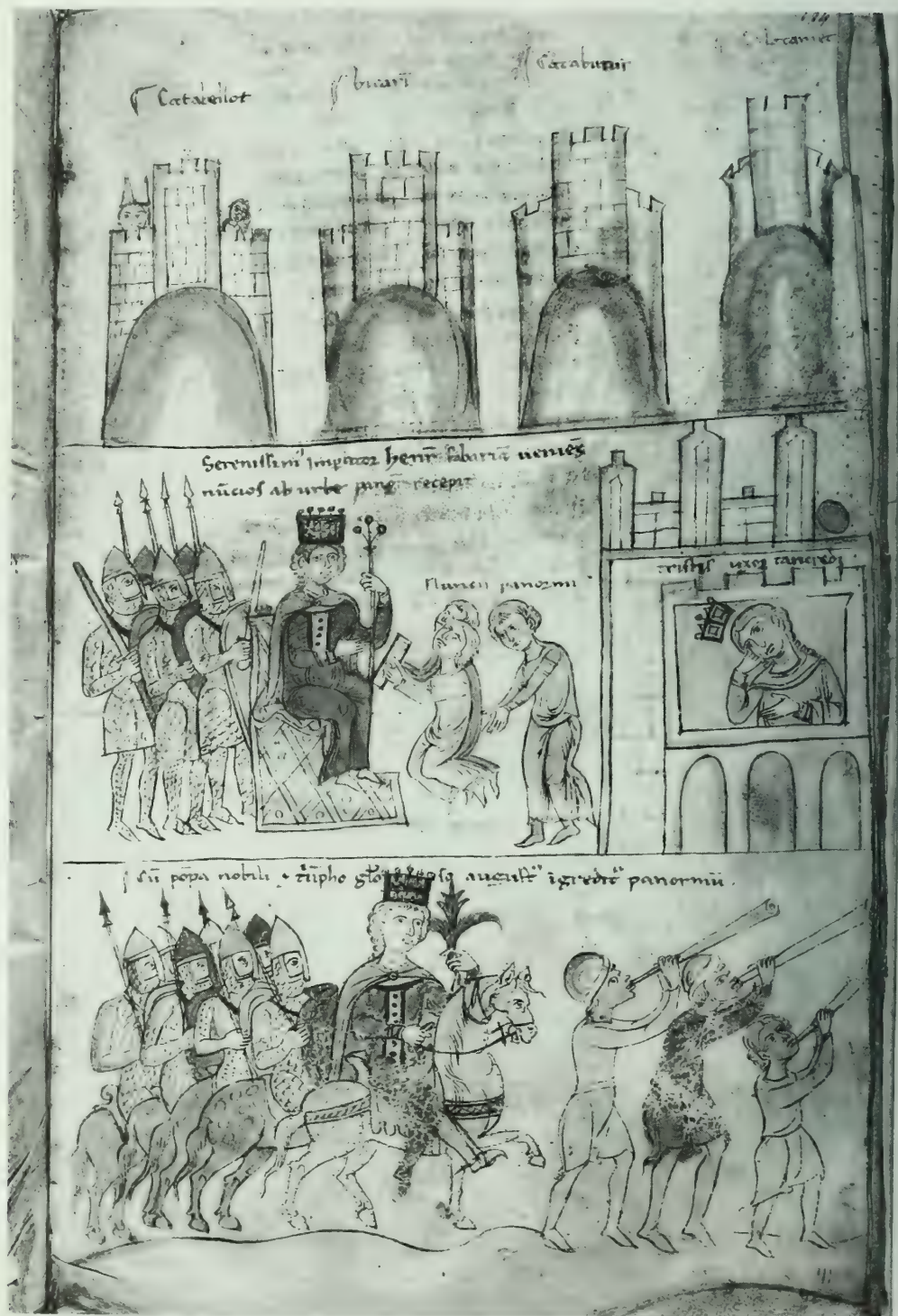
10 See, for example, Homburger 1953: 120–3; *Stuttgart* 1977–79: I, 647–8 (Florentine Mutherich, Hans Martin Schaller).

11 See Daneu Lattanzi 1962: Commentary p. 55, n. 72; Frugoni 1978: 147, n. 3.

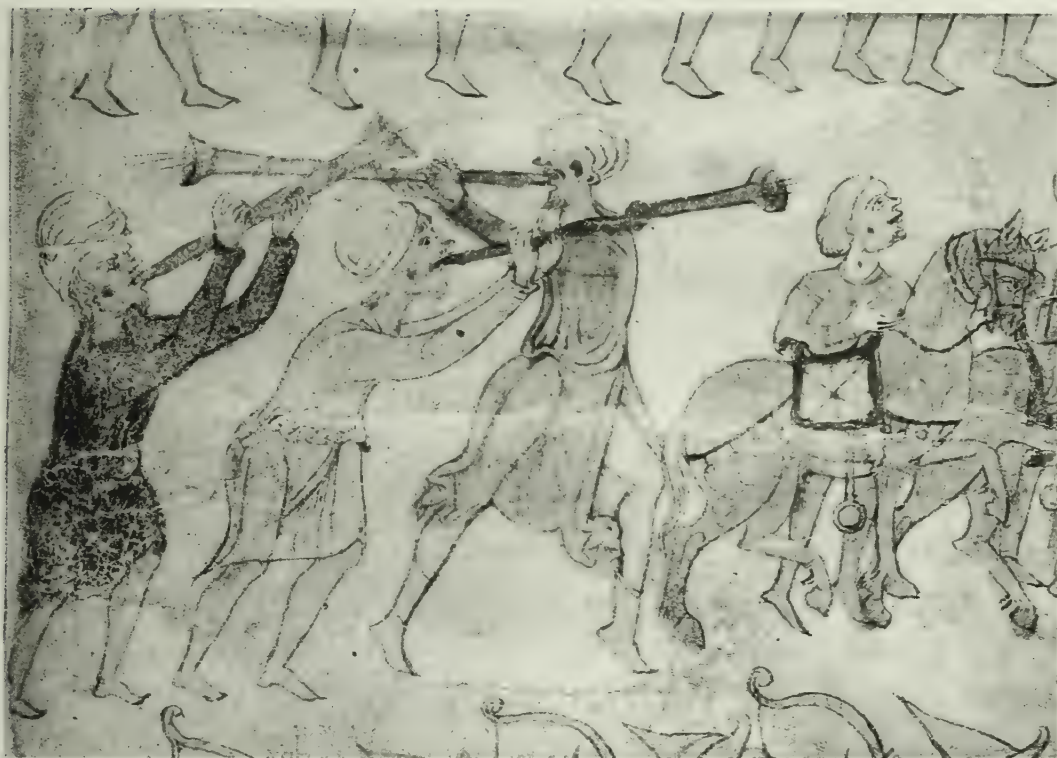
12 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Pal. gr. 431, sheet vi. Facsimile: *Josua Rolle* 1984. See also Weitzmann 1948: *fig. 19*. The possibility that the Joshua Roll is a copy of a 7th-century original has been raised again by Lowden 1992: 118–9.



1. Entry of Tancred of Lecce into Palermo (Palermo (?), 1194–95). Berne, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 120, fol. 102r, Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*. – Photo: Library



2. Henry VI receives the Palermitan envoys and enters Palermo (Palermo (?), 1194–95). Burgerbibliothek, cod. 120, fol. 134r. – Photo: Library



3. The Wind Band. Detail of fig. 1. – Photo: Burgerbibliothek



4. *Joshua Rotulus*, sheet vi (Constantinople, 10th century). Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Pal. gr. 431. – Photo: Library

direction opposite to the direction of the march. On his legs we can see the vestigial remains of the straps of the Roman sandal-boots (*caligae*) of the model (see Yarwood 1978: 352) while the turban provides a contemporary, local note. To produce the pose of this figure, however, the artist has simply bisected his model at the waist and reversed the upper part of the body, so that head, arms and chest all point towards the rear. To produce a more realistic representation, the artists would have had to find a more appropriate model, or visualize and render a complex movement in space.

However, even when a two-dimensional rendering should not present any problem, the artist's powers of observation, or perhaps his interest in a particular detail, cannot be trusted. We see this in the depiction of the bows carried by the archers in the lowest row of figures (*fig. 1*). Tancred's procession is headed by a soldier with a crossbow who is followed by five archers. These are shown grasping their bows with their left hand while holding an arrow in their right. Under these conditions, the bowstring should appear as a straight line joining the two extremities of the bow; instead, it bulges out in a curve.¹³ The artist may have used as his model an image of an archer drawing his bow, only partially modifying it. Two such archers appear in fact in the drawing showing the siege of Naples later in the manuscript (*fig. 5*),¹⁴ but again with curved bow strings; they may be compared to the more realistically rendered bow and arrow of one of the Four Horsemen in the Beatus of Ferdinand and Sancha, dated 1047 (*fig. 6*).¹⁵

A further detail of *figure 5*, the siege of Naples, must be noted. The siege engine shown, a catapult (trebuchet), represents a technological development of recent date, first appearing in illustrations of the first half of the twelfth century (Ševčenko 1984: 117–27 and *figs. 1–2*). This detail suggests that the artists of the Berne codex were more interested in representing more or less correctly new or unusual objects or scenes (the siege engine, the various populations of the city of Palermo, the Greek, Saracen and Latin notaries of the royal chancery, etc.) than in something as commonplace as bows and arrows.¹⁶ We shall recall this in our discussion of the various wind instruments shown in *figures 1 and 2*.

The wind instruments

It is at first surprising that the “usurper” Tancred is shown with a larger musical escort (*fig. 1*) than the hero of the poem, Emperor Henry VI (*fig. 2*). An explanation of this situation can be found once the symbolic associations of the various groups of instruments are considered. As was pointed out earlier, cymbals are, in Peter of Eboli's view, a mime's or jongleur's instrument. Trumpets, on the other hand, had in the course of the twelfth century come to represent the voice of authority, as Žak has demonstrated (1979: *passim*). Provisionally, we may consider drums to occupy a middle ground between these two extremes. It is therefore fitting that only a wind band accompanies the true King of Sicily upon his entry into his capital.

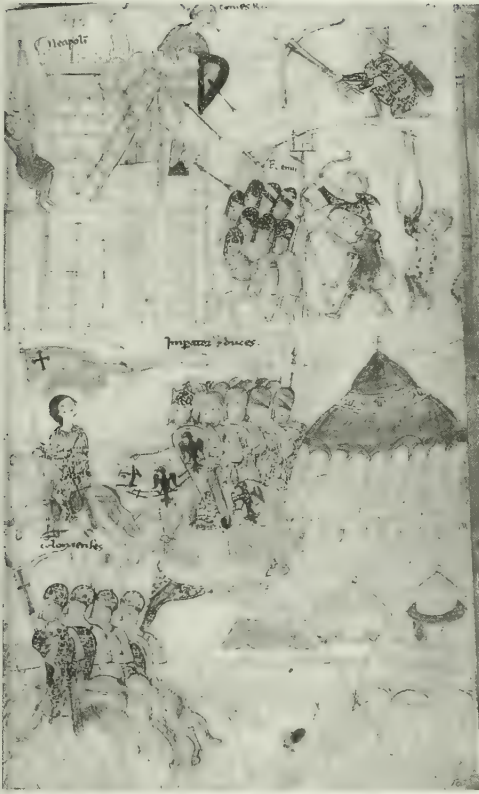
The role of trumpets as symbols of authority has been amply documented by Žak. One further contemporary piece of evidence may be added. In his *Guide to the Perplexed*, Maimonides (died 1204) discusses the difference between a knowledge of “existence” and a

13 It is necessary to be tediously explicit since Siragusa describes the archers as in the process of drawing their bows, “in atto di tendere gli archi” (Siragusa 1905: 127).

14 Fol. 109r. Rota 1904: 59; Siragusa 1906: II, pl. XV.

15 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. Vitr. 14–2, fol. 135r; Williams 1977: 103 (pl. 32; color).

16 Palermo: Rota 1904: 14, Siragusa 1906: II, pl. III; our *fig. 22*. Notaries: Rota 1904: 26; Siragusa 1906: II, pl. VII. The latter is probably the most frequently cited and reproduced drawing of the manuscript.

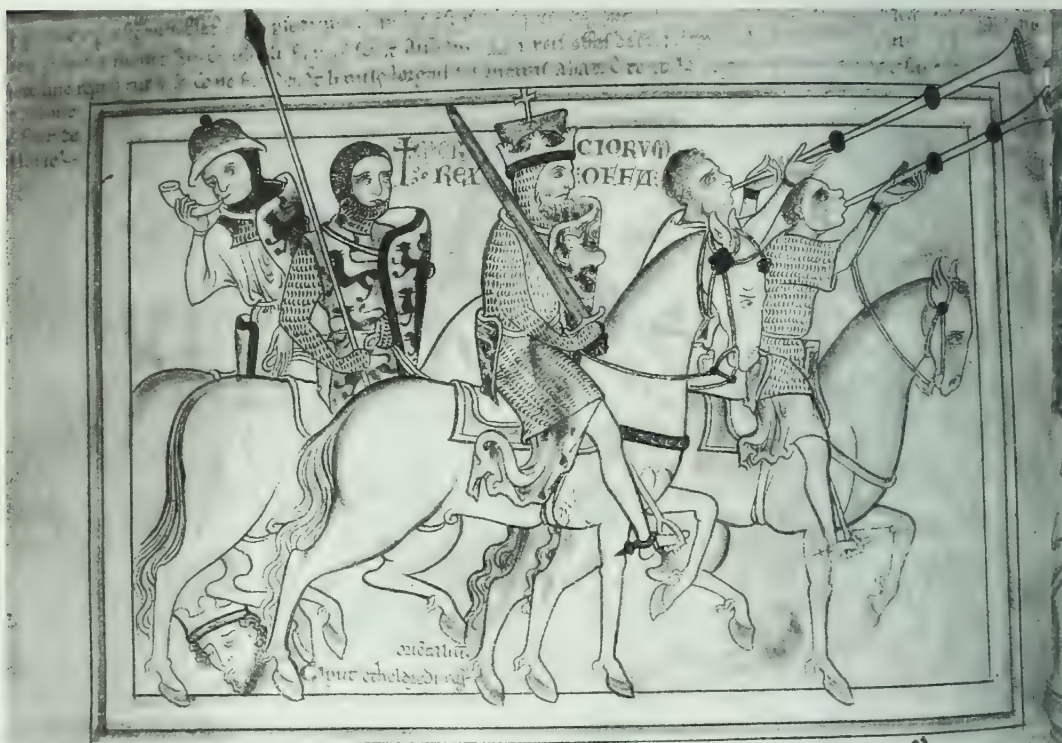


5. The Siege of Naples (Palermo (?), 1194–95). Berne, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 120, fol. 109r. – Photo: Library
6. The Four Horsemen (León, 1047). Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. Vit. 14–2, fol. 135r, *Beatus* of Ferdinand and Sancha. – Photo: Library

knowledge of “essence”. External characteristics (more properly, “accidents”) can suffice to provide a knowledge of existence (Part I, ch. 46; 1963: I, 97). Thus a ruler can be recognized if one sees someone who is “surrounded by a great company of people, who are riding or on foot, with drawn swords around him and banners raised above his head, while trumpets are sounded in front of him”.¹⁷ Žak emphasizes the importance of a sheer volume of sound as a major element in such displays of pomp and circumstance (1979: 7–21 and *passim*). Yet more distinctly musical characteristics also begin to be noticed at this time. Describing the entry of Richard Lionheart into Messina in September 1190, a chronicler describes trumpets (*trompae*) sounding alternately and turning a discord of sounds into harmony (*tonorum discors concordia*).¹⁸

17 For “ruler” and “trumpets” the Arabic original has Sultan and *’abw’aq* (sing.: *bwq*). The contemporary Hebrew translator renders the latter as *ḥaṣoṣrot* (sing.: *ḥaṣoṣrah*). Maimonides 1856: I, Arabic text p. 40; Maimonides 1959–60: I, part 1, 196–7.

18 *Itinerarium* 1864: 157 (Book 2, ch. 13).



7. King Offa (St. Albans, ca. 1250). Dublin Trinity College Library MS 177, fol. 55v, Matthew Paris, *Vie de Saint Auban*. – Photo: The Green Studio Ltd. By permission of The Board of Trinity College Dublin

As many as four different designs of wind instruments are shown in *figures 1* and *2*. Three of these appear in Tancred's wind band, and for two of them earlier models can be cited. The shortest of the three instruments, played by the musician in the rear of the group, resembles closely one of the instruments in the Paris Tonary of around 1000.¹⁹ It has a continually expanding body turning smoothly into a flare. While the instrument of the Tonary is generally described as a trumpet (Seebass 1973: I, 14), the position of the hands in Peter of Eboli's drawing could correspond to the presence of finger holes, suggesting possibly a shawm. A specific identification of the instrument is therefore not possible. In the case of the long instrument pointed backward, the coloring applied to the drawing sets off the bell from the rest of the body. In this detail the instrument resembles the well-known trumpets of the Last Judgement fresco at Sant'Angelo in Formis, a work of the 1070s or 1080s.²⁰

The instrument held by the musician in the center of the group, however, introduces a new element. Allowing for some awkwardness in the drawing, it may be described as having a straight body ending in a shallow bell which is sharply set off from the rest of the body. About

19 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 1118, fol. 105v; Seebass 1973: II, pls. 2 and 10.

20 There is a good color photograph of one of the angels in Tarr 1988, between pp. 96 and 97; and a black-and-white photograph in Seebass 1973: II, pl. 36. The drawing in Baines 1976: 71, fig. 10d, does not show the set-off of the bell of the instrument. For the dating of the frescoes, see Demus 1970: 294. The trumpets are barely visible in the photograph of the entire fresco (*ibidem*, pl. 18).

two-thirds along the length of the body the drawing indicates a pommel or knop, its precise location in the drawing surely determined by a desire to make it appear clearly against the background of the page. We have here an example of a new form of trumpet, images of which appear throughout the Mediterranean in the latter part of the twelfth century, and probably to be identified with the “buisines” of the Oxford manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland* (Büchler 1992/93). The instrument requires further discussion, but first something must be said about the instruments in Henry VI’s procession (fig. 2).

Two of the musicians in Henry’s wind band play slightly conical instruments of moderate length somewhat resembling the instruments of the Paris Tonary identified by Seebass as shawms.²¹ The manner in which the musicians hold their instruments, however, argues against the presence of finger holes, so that once again precise identification is not possible. The musician leading the group, the only one among the eleven musicians in figures 1 and 2 not wearing a turban, is shown blowing a slightly curved instrument, probably intended as some form of horn. A similar grouping appears some fifty years later in Matthew Paris’s *Vie de Saint Auban*.²² Offa, the historical King of Mercia and legendary discoverer of the body of St. Alban, is shown setting out accompanied by two trumpeters with African features and a soldier blowing a small horn (fig. 7). A variant of a well-known line from the *Chanson de Roland* could serve as legend for this figure: *Offa li reis fait suner sun corn et ses buisines*.²³ It is quite likely that the instruments played by the two Muslims in Henry’s escort are meant to be seen as some form of trumpets, whatever the form of their appearance in the drawing.

The new trumpets

Perhaps the earliest image of a trumpet displaying the characteristic pommel of the buisine appears in the Madrid codex of the *Chronicle* of John Skylitzes (fig. 8).²⁴ The instrument shown has a uniformly narrow first section followed, after the pommel, by a second, conical section without separate flare or bell. The Madrid Skylitzes is the only known example of an illustrated Byzantine chronicle. Ihor Ševčenko (1984) provided convincing arguments that it was produced in Sicily about the middle of the twelfth century, probably in Palermo and possibly as a commission of Roger II. He has argued persuasively that the Madrid manuscript was an original production, original in the sense that it was not based on an existing illustrated model, but with the illustrations assembled or created for this exemplar. The later *Liber ad honorem Augusti* is, as we have seen, the result of just such a procedure.

The images of the new trumpets that are next in date are also the most life-like ones: the instruments held by the angels of the Portico de la Gloria at Santiago de Compostela from ca. 1188 (fig. 9).²⁵ The trumpets have slowly widening bodies ending in a gently set-off bell, and, near the middle, the tell-tale pommel. An instrument of this general type is described by the

21 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 1118, fol. 107v, Seebass 1973: II, pls. 4 and 11; I, 380–7.

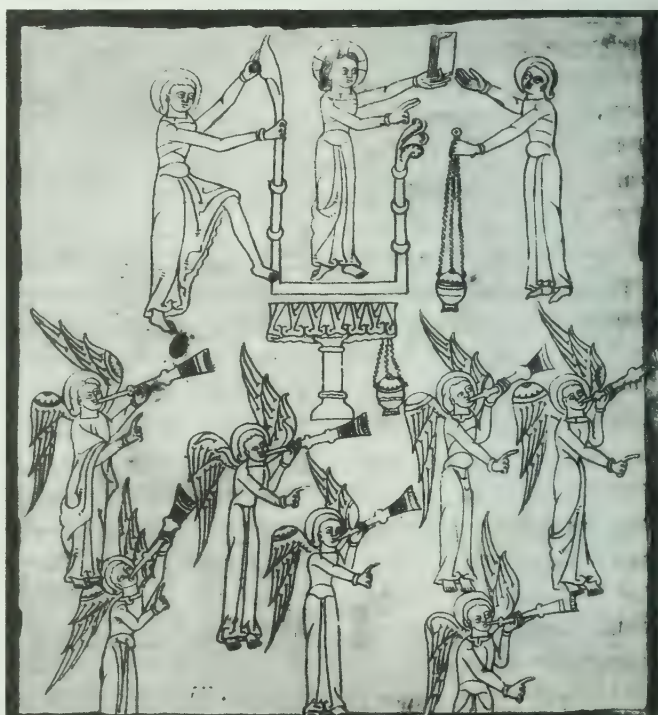
22 Trinity College Library, Dublin, MS. 177, fol. 55v; Lewis 1987: 380–7.

23 In the *Chanson de Roland* it is the Saracen king Marsilies who “fait suner ses corns et ses buisines” (Segre 1989: I, 174, verse 1629; in other editions this is verse 1468). The verse has been cited in discussions as to the meaning of “buisines” since at least Buhle 1903: 28, n. 4; for a more recent mention, see Brown 1984.24 M a d r i d , Biblioteca Nacional, cod. Vitr. 26–2, fol. 217r. Cirac Estopañan 1965: I, 402, no. 535; Grabar and Manoussacas 1979: fig. 257.

25 Porter 1923: VI, figs. 836–7; Seebass 1973: II, pl. 32, Sauerländer 1989: 51, fig. 39 (*in situ*). The lintel of the Portico de la Gloria was signed in 1188 by a Master Mateo who had received a commission in 1168; see Chamoso Lamas *et al.* 1973: 191; Sauerländer 1989: 50–52.



8. Battle Scene (Sicily, mid-12th century). Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. Vitr. 26-2, fol. 216r, *Chronicle of John Skylitzes*. – Photo: Library



9. Angel (Santiago de Compostela, ca. 1188). Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral, Portico de la Gloria. – Photo: Art Resource-Foto Marburg.

10. The Seven Angels (Lorvão, 1189). Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, cod. 160, fol. 135r, *Beatus*. – Photo after Egry 1972, Plate IIA

Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore in a passage of his commentary on the Book of Revelation, written between 1183 and 1202.²⁶ In an extended simile based on Revelation 1:10 ("a voice like a great trumpet"), the abbot uses the *tuba* of the text as an image of the preaching of the Universal Church (see Appendix for the full text and a translation).²⁷ He describes an instrument of beaten metal with a long and narrow first section ending in a *nodus*, a knot or knop. Beyond the *nodus*, the *tuba* begins to widen, to end in a final expansion, the flare or bell of the trumpet.

A variant form of the new trumpet, with two pommels rather than only one, appears in the Lisbon copy of the Commentary on the Apocalypse of Beatus of Liébana. The manuscript was written at the abbey of Lorvão near Coimbra and is dated 1189.²⁸ One of the miniatures shows all seven angels with their trumpets (fig. 10); later each of the angels appears alone, with the trumpet occasionally having only a single pommel.²⁹ Instruments similar to the Lorvão trumpets appear in a miniature in a manuscript of the *Automata* of al-Jazari dated 1206 (fig. 11).³⁰ The manuscript is a direct copy of al-Jazari's original version, which is thought to have been written and illustrated in southeastern Anatolia between 1198 and 1200 (for more, see Ward 1985: 69–80). The miniature represents a musical water-clock, with the two trumpets, kettledrums, cylinder drum and cymbals producing the appropriate sounds at set times. Automata of this kind were of Greek origin.³¹ The drawing of the cylinder drum corresponds, as we shall show, to Byzantine practice, but so far no representation of the new trumpets has turned up in Byzantine sources.³²

The drawings of the Madrid Skylitzes (fig. 8, mid-twelfth century), the Lisbon *Beatus* (fig. 10; 1189), and the *Liber ad Honorem Augusti* (figs. 1, 3; 1194–95); the sculpture at Compostela (fig. 9; ca. 1188); and Joachim of Fiore's text (Appendix; between 1183 and 1202), all point to the appearance of a new form of trumpet in the West in the course of the twelfth century (some time lag must be assumed between the initial adoption of the instrument and its representation in drawings and sculpture). Not long after the turn of the century the new trumpet appears north of the Alps at Strasbourg, as the instrument of the angels of the Cathedral's Judgment Pillar (ca. 1230; fig. 12).³³ It was also during the twelfth century that trumpets seem to have acquired the role of symbols of power in the Latin West; Žak dates the beginning of this development to the middle of the century (1979: 51ff.). We have discussed elsewhere the extent to which the new trumpet can be associated with the "buisine" of the *Chanson de Roland* (Büchler 1992–93: 148–53). Here a further point must be made. It seems not to have been noted that Old French

26 Joachim of Fiore 1527, fol. 40v–41r. There is still no modern edition of the *Expositio*. For a general introduction to the abbot, see McGinn 1985. Reeves 1969 is basic for any discussion of Joachim's ideas.

27 For a discussion of such "similitudines" as a source of musical information, see Page 1989: 9. Sketches illustrating the trumpet of the *Expositio* and its interpretation appear in the mid-thirteenth century pseudo-Joachimite "*Praemissiones*"; see Reeves and Hirsch-Reich 1972: fig. 38. The association of the text of the *Expositio* with one of Joachim's genuine *Figurae*, however (*ibidem*: pp. 125 and n. 23), is based on a mistranslation.

28 Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, cod. 160; Egry 1972: Lam. [Plate] IIA.

29 The slight curvature in the drawing of the trumpet in the left-hand lower corner of figure 10 should be noted. It was probably introduced as a matter of expediency to prevent overlap with the wing of the angel adjacent to it. For a trumpet with a single pommel, see Egry 1972: fig. 29.

30 Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Museum, MS. A. 3472, fol. 5r. A list of manuscripts of al-Jazari's *Automata* is given in Hill 1981: 89–91. A version of figure 11 from a copy of the *Automata* dated 1354 (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts MS. 14 655; Hill 1981: 89, no. 3) has been repeatedly reproduced; see Farmer 1966: 91, fig. 76; Seebass 1973: II, pl. 34.

31 Hill 1981: 709; Hammerstein 1986; see also Weitzmann 1952: 249–50 and *passim*.

32 The "strengthening rings" (Braun 1980: 321 and fig. 5a) often seen in Byzantine representations of trumpets do not interrupt the smooth outline of the tube.

33 The pillar is also known as Angel Pillar (Engelspfeiler); Reinhardt 1972: 27, fig. 25; Sauerländer 1972: pl. 136 ("Judgment Pillar"); Sauerländer 1989: 335.



11. Water Clock (Southern Anatolia, 1206). Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum. MS Ahmet III 3472, fol. 5r, al-Jazari, *Automata*. – Photo: Museum

12. Angel (Strasbourg, ca. 1230). Strasbourg Cathedral, Judgment Pillar. – Photo: Sauerländer

does not contain a term for a musical instrument derived from the Latin *tuba*. The earliest French vernacular term that can be definitely associated with some form of trumpet is the *buisine*. Before the twelfth century, however, it can only rarely have been used to denote a contemporary Western instrument;³⁴ *buisine* was still available as the name of an instrument used only by Saracens in the Oxford version of the *Chanson*, a text that reflects the state of the poem around 1100.³⁵ In later versions of the poem, *buisines* form part of the instrumentarium of the Christian army (Büchler 1992–93: 150–1). There is good reason to associate the emergence of trumpets as symbols of authority with the adoption of this particular instrument.

Only one of the six wind instruments in *figures 1* and *2* represents the new trumpet; the variety of instruments shown matches the variety of names of wind instruments that appears in contemporary chronicles, though it is only rarely possible to establish a correspondence between

34 Cf. Baines 1976: 73. *Buisine*, which has now become canonical, is only one of several spellings that were current in the late twelfth century. Both *busine*/*bosine* and *buisine*/*boisine* appear in contemporary manuscripts, with “u” and “o” here representing the same vowel sound; cf. Godefroy 1880–1902: I, 755, and the variant readings given in Foerster 1887: 95, verse 2345. I am very grateful to Professor Yakov Malkiel for patiently making me aware of some of the philological problems lurking behind the development of Classical Latin *būcina* into Old French (and modern musicological) *buisine*.

35 The frequently cited *terminus a quo* of 1088 has, however, to be rejected; see Büchler 1992–93: 153–4. For the dating of the Oxford manuscript itself, see Segre 1989: I, 47. Segre accepts a dating to the second quarter of the twelfth century.

names, images, and actual objects.³⁶ According to the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, the English king arrived in Messina in 1190 to the sound of *tubae* and *litui*;³⁷ later, as we have seen, *trompae* are mentioned. Describing the same event. The chronicler Roger of Hoveden speaks of *tubae* and *buccinae* (Benedict of Peterborough 1867: 125). When the author of the *Itinerarium* later describes the instrumentarium of the Turkish army that attacked the Crusaders (1191), the traditional Latin vocabulary hardly seems large enough to do justice to the variety of wind instruments involved: *tubae*, *litui*, *buccinae* and *tibiae* are all mentioned.³⁸

The diversity of instruments depicted in Tancred's and Henry's wind bands may thus correspond to a real situation. Only in one case, however, that of the new trumpet, is the drawing sufficiently careful to allow identification of the instrument. No such care was expended on characterizing the other, and probably more familiar and commonplace, instruments. We have here a phenomenon already seen in the case of siege engines (fig. 5): it is the new and the less familiar that commands the artist's attention.

A last point needs to be made. To draw the new instrument, the *buisine*, the artist had only to alter slightly the pattern of an earlier model. A modification of the two-dimensional outline drawing of an older, straight trumpet would have been sufficient to suggest the most characteristic element of the *buisine*, the pommel. As we shall see, the representation of a variety of drums presented a more difficult problem, and one not solved satisfactorily by the artists of the twelfth century.

The drummers

The limitations imposed on twelfth-century draftsmen by the models and figurative techniques available to them are seen clearly in the case of the drummers in Tancred of Lecce's procession (figs. 1 and 13). As we shall try to show, the drawings of the drums are in the nature of pictographs, not providing much more by way of organological information than the word "drum" itself.

A drawing in Herrad of Hohenbourg's *Hortus Deliciarum* of ca. 1175 (fig. 14)³⁹ provides a key to the type of model used by the artist in the manuscript of the Burgerbibliothek. Herrad's drawing shows Miriam leading the Children of Israel in song and music after the crossing of the Red Sea. Miriam carries a large drum suspended from a strap slung around her neck, striking it both with her hand and with a curved stick.⁴⁰ The woman immediately behind her holds a similar but smaller instrument at shoulder level, also striking it with a stick. The pose of the latter figure suggests the tympanon players of classical art (see, for example, Blades 1992: pls. 68 and 73). The illusionistic rendering of the Greek or Roman model, however, which indicated

36 I have made an attempt to do this in one specific case, the *buisine* of the Oxford manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland*; see Büchler 1992–93: 148–52. In at least one later version of the poem, *buisine* becomes the name of a hunting horn; see *ibidem*: 152.

37 *Itinerarium* 1864: 156 (Book 2, Chapter 13); the chronicler goes on to explain the meaning of *tubae*: "quas trumpas vulgo dicunt."

38 *Itinerarium* 1864: 262–3 (Book 4, ch. 18). The vernacular version here has only *buisines*, *timbres* and *taburs* (Ambroise 1897: 166, verses 6334–5). On another occasion, however, it is as prolix as the Latin version: *ibidem*: 63, verses 2359–60.

39 Herrad of Hohenbourg 1979: II, pl. 25 = fol. 38v.

40 So-called "crozier sticks" are discussed in Sachs 1940: 157–8; see also Blades 1992: 142. They are not mentioned in the discussion of early percussion instruments in Montagu 1976: 29–32 (*Beaters*) and Blades and Montagu 1976.



13. Drums and Cymbals. Detail of *fig. 1*. – Photo: Library

the three-dimensional character of the frame drum, has been replaced by a simple circle. The curved sticks and carrying straps do not appear in classical art, but are found in a Gandharan relief of the second or third century and are in present-day use in West and North Africa.⁴¹ A passage in Prudentius's *Psychomachia* shows that drums struck with sticks were known in the Western part of the Roman Empire by the end of the fourth century. Describing the return of the victorious Virtues, the poet compares them to the Israelites passing through the Red Sea to the sound of drums: *pulsavit resono modulantia plectro / turba Dei*.⁴² Herrad's drawing (*fig. 14*) could serve as illustration for this text.

The drummers of Peter of Eboli's manuscript (*fig. 13*) clearly depend on a model similar to that used for Herrad's Miriam (*fig. 14*). The turbans provide once more a contemporary and local note, but the rather elaborate curve of the stick can be safely attributed to artistic license. The drums are represented by two concentric circles, and the profile drawing of the drummers gives no indication as to the way in which they are using their left hand. A drawing in the Madrid Skylitzes, to which we shall return again, is of interest in this connection (*fig. 15*).⁴³ Four of the five musicians are shown in profile. The drummer, however, is seen frontally, carrying his instrument on a strap slung around his neck and beating it with two curved sticks.

The representations of drums we have discussed so far (*figs. 13–15*) all appear to be derived from images of classical *tympana*. At least by the eleventh century, however, cylinder drums appear to have been in use in the Eastern Mediterranean. In Byzantine manuscripts they appear first in representations of the Dance of Miriam. *Figure 16* is taken from an Octateuch now dated

41 Gandhara: Kaufmann 1981: 148 (text illustration). West Africa: Kubik 1989: 112–5 (*dùndún* drums). North Africa: Collaer and Elsner 1983: 100–1 and 124, with some discussion of the use of the sticks. See also Blades 1992: 52. I am indebted to Prof. Olly Wilson for helpful discussion.

42 Prudentius 1949: 324, verse 655. The use of *plectrum* in the sense of drumstick is not cited in Pauly-Wissowa 1951: 188–9 nor in any of the dictionaries of classical or medieval Latin which I have consulted; the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* seems not yet to have reached *PL*. A later use is attested in the text of the 11th-century satirical poet Amarcus (cf. Thompson 1982), who writes of a musician “qui casta cavo concordet tympana plectro” (Amarcius 1969: 74, verse 398). The “chaste tympanum” struck with a “curved plectrum” (my reading) could well have been Miriam's originally.

43 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, cod. Vitr. 26–2, fol. 145r. Grabar and Manoussacas 1979: 85, no. 386; color plate XXX, fig. 184, and text fig. 22 on page 185. Cirac Estopañan 1965: 349, no. 375.



14. Moses and Miriam leading the Israelites (Alsace, ca. 1175). Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum* (destroyed), fol 38v. – Photo after Herrad of Hohenbourg 1979, vol. 2, pl. 25



15. Reception of Nikephoros Phokas at Constantinople (Sicily, mid-12th century). Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. Vitr. 26-2, fol. 145r. – Photo: Library



16. Miriam's Dance (Byzantine, ca. 1075). Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 747, fol. 90v, Octateuch. – Photo: Library

17. Fresco, Crypt of the Coopers, Catacomb of Priscilla (Rome, 4th century). – Photo after Wilpert 1903, Plate 202

to about 1075.⁴⁴ Discussing this drawing, Weitzmann has described the figure on the left as “rather a medieval type,” contrasting with the other three figures, which are based on classical models (1971: 168). The most striking evidence for the absence of a classical model for the drummer, however, is the drawing of the drum itself. In a denial of any attempt at an illusionistic rendering, both heads of the cylinder drum are shown. The absence of perspective is characteristic of Late Antique art;⁴⁵ the drawing of the drum is anticipated in the drawing of two barrels in the fourth-century Crypt of the Coopers in the Roman Catacomb of Priscilla (fig. 17).⁴⁶ In areas under the influence of Byzantine art, this method of representing cylinder or barrel drums persists through the fourteenth century. A miniature in the Kiev Psalter of 1397 provides a particularly fine example (fig. 18; *Kievskaja Psaltir* 1978, fol. 206r). We have seen an earlier example of this type of representation in the drum of al-Jazari's water-clock (fig. 11). Possibly the earliest Byzantine representation of cylinder drums available so far appears carved in low relief on some caskets that may be as early as the tenth century (fig. 19).⁴⁷ The barrel-drum of the musician-monster in the well-known early-twelfth-century miniature in Cambridge is one of very few examples of such instruments in the West (fig. 20).⁴⁸

In Sicily, two episodes in the contemporary *Historia* of “Hugo Falcandus” suggest the presence of a variety of drums. During the three days of mourning at Palermo following the death of King William I in 1166, “mulieres, nobilesque matronas, maxime Sarracene [...]”

44 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 747, fol. 90v. Weitzmann 1971: 168, fig. 147. For the dating of the manuscript, see now Lowden 1992.

45 Kitzinger (1983: 11–45) provides a superb introduction to such aspects of Late Antique and Early Christian art.

46 Wilpert 1903: Tafelband, pl. 202; du Bourguet 1966: pls. 73 and 74.

47 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.239. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930–34: I, nos. 47 and 49, with redating in vol. II: 87. For an important recent discussion of such boxes, see Cutler 1984–85. Anthony Cutler tells me that the Metropolitan box is “all bone, not ivory”.

48 Cambridge, St. John's College, MS B 18, fol. 1. The miniature has been widely reproduced, see, for examples, Swarzenski 1967: pl. 126, fig. 288; Blades 1992: pl. 98; Seebass 1973: II, pl. 111.



18. Miriam's Dance (Kiev, 1397). St. Petersburg, M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library MS. F VI, fol. 206r, Kiev Psalter. – Photo after *Kievskaja Psaltir* 1978, fol. 206



19. Byzantine Casket (10th–12th century). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, No. 17.190.239. – Photo: Museum



20. Sacred and Profane Music (Reims?, second quarter 12th century). Cambridge, St. John's College Library, MS B 18, fol. 1r, Psalter. – Photo: Library

ancillarum praeunte multitudine totum civitatem ululatu complebant, ad pulsata tympana cantu flebili respondentes.”⁴⁹ It is probably safe to assume that the *tympana* in this instance were small hand-held frame drums. Two years later the royal “*servi buccinarii*” were called out during a riot. Their instruments included not only trumpets but also drums: they were ordered to sound “*tubis ac tympanis*”. In turn the entire city, “*tam Sarraceni quam Christiani*”, recognized in them the “well-known sign of war”, *signum notissimum belli* (Falcando 1904: 158).

Here, in the drums of the *servi buccinarii*, we have perhaps the origin of the drums that appear in Tancred of Lecce's procession some twenty years later. The relation between the actual instruments and their representation in figure 13 must be left open. Even if cylinder drums were involved, the draftsman may not have had access to an appropriate model, or may not have managed to incorporate it in a representation which shows the musicians in profile. The problem, in fact, is ours: a contemporary viewer should not have had any difficulty in relating the drawing to any drum with a circular cross-section. The “pictograph” is as indeterminate as the word “drum.”

The texts we have cited — the mourning of 1166 and the riot of 1168 — indicate some of the range of circumstances under which *tympani* could be employed. Their use on more festive occasions is reflected in the account of the procession escorting the relics of a group of martyrs in Benevento in 1119. The musical accompaniment included *juvenes cum tympanis, cum cytharis tinnientibus*. At a later point the skill with which drums are played is singled out: together with the sounding of *tubas stridentes* and *cornua crepitantia*, there are *tympana mirabiliter percussa*.⁵⁰ All of this in the presence of the assembled clergy; thus a skill that might be associated with jongleurs is here considered both admirable and respectable.⁵¹

49 Falcando 1904: 89. There is evidence for Muslim drums in Sicily in 862; see Büchler 1992–93: 145–67 and n. 36.

50 Falco Beneventano 1845: 178–80, the citation on lines 16–7 and 35–6; Žak 1979: 75–6, n. 25.

51 Perhaps twenty years earlier, Rabbi Shelomo Yitzhaki (Rashi, died 1106), the most popular Jewish commentator on both Bible and Talmud, described the skillful and indeed highly musical playing of a frame drum with snare, by what was obviously a jongleur; see Catane 1985: 75; Büchler 1992–93: 155.

The cymbal players: image and text

Other sounds which accompanied the festivities at Benevento are those of *campanae* and *tintinnabula*, and finally, of “*alia metallorum genera*” (Falco Beneventano 1845: 179, lines 18–9, 32–3). What is noticeably missing is the word *cymbala*. *Cymbala* in the sense of small bells might, however, be implied by *tintinnabula*, while the classic as well as modern cymbals (*piatti*, *Becken*) could have been subsumed under the “various kinds of metals”. For Peter of Eboli in 1194, however, cymbals were attributes of the “crowned impostor”, Tancred. Here we must consider both drawing and text.

Of the various instruments appearing in *figure 1*, the cymbals represent the most interesting interplay between poem and illustration. When Peter of Eboli writes, “*Quam bene conveniunt redimito cimbala mimo!*” (see footnote 4 above) it is clear that he is referring to “cimbala” in the sense of classical (and modern) cymbals, and not using the word in its then common meaning of a set of chime bells.⁵² As depicted, the cymbals seem the most readily identifiable and realistic of the various instruments, but this appearance is deceptive. Models were widely available: cymbals appear in a Beatus manuscript of *ca.* 1000 (Seebass 1973: II, pl. 124), in a Montecassino manuscript of *ca.* 1023 (*ibidem*: pl. 120; Reuter 1984: 73–8 and pl. LXVI), and in the Madrid Skylitzes (*fig. 21*).⁵³ As illustrations of the text of Peter of Eboli’s poem, the cymbals could have been readily derived from stock patterns.

At the same time, there seems to be nothing to distinguish the cymbal players from the other musicians of the drawing. The bearded player seems in fact to be the most dignified figure, in pointed contrast to the dwarf-like Tancred perched on his horse almost immediately above. It is Tancred who is the “mime,” rather than the cymbal player.⁵⁴

Plectra and jingles

The reference to “cimbala” in the poem is immediately followed by a line whose interpretation has caused some problems: “*Ne quemquam lateat. erea plectra sonant*”⁵⁵ — “So that no one would hide [from the ‘show’], the brazen plectra sound.” Del Re, one of the earlier editors of Peter of Eboli’s poem, glosses this as a reference to the ringing of bells.⁵⁶ Rota objected to this reading, seeing the “*erea plectra*” instead as bronze drumsticks, and referring to the curved sticks of *figures 1* and *3* (Rota 1904: 32, note to verse 191). We have indeed an eleventh-century example of the use of “*plectrum*” with reference to a drumstick.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Del Re’s interpretation seems preferable, even if it involves a metallurgical inaccuracy. “*Plectrum*” was the normal designation of the clapper of a bell, and “*aes*” of the metal used to cast bells (See Theophilus 1979: 143, n. 1 and p. 173, n. 8). Bells and bell towers are prominent among the illustrations of the *Liber ad Honorem Augusti*; *figure 22* shows a particularly fine

52 Smits van Waesberghe 1951; van Schaik 1988.

53 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, cod. Vitr. 26–2, fol. 78v. Grabar and Manoussacas 1979: 56, no. 193 and fig. 80; Cirac Estopañan 1965: 290, no. 199.

54 For such graphic devices in the illustrations, see Georgen 1981. — For recent discussions of the status of “mimes” (*mimi*, *histriones*, *ioculatores*), see Žak 1979: 179–91 and Page 1989: chs 1 and 2. Faral 1965: 272–327 (Appendix 3) gives an extensive set of quotations from the sources.

55 Rota 1904: 32, line 191; Siragusa 1906: I, 18, line 191.

56 Peter of Eboli 1845: 444, note to p. 410 verse 1: “*Aerea plectra son le campane. R.*” (R. being the philologist Emmanuele Rocco); see Proemio, p. 404.

57 Amarcus 1969: 74, verse 398 and our note 42 above.



21. Michael III and the Orchestra of Gryllos (Sicily, mid-12th century). Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. Vitr. 26-2, fol. 78v. – Photo: Library

example, the campanile of the Capella Palatina in Palermo.⁵⁸ Moreover, the ringing of church bells was the normal accompaniment of occasions such as solemn entries (Žak 1979: 46–7). There remains, however, one problem. Bell clappers were made of iron: *ferrea* (rather than *erea*) *plectra* would be the proper description.⁵⁹ But this is a technical point which Peter of Eboli might well not have been aware of.

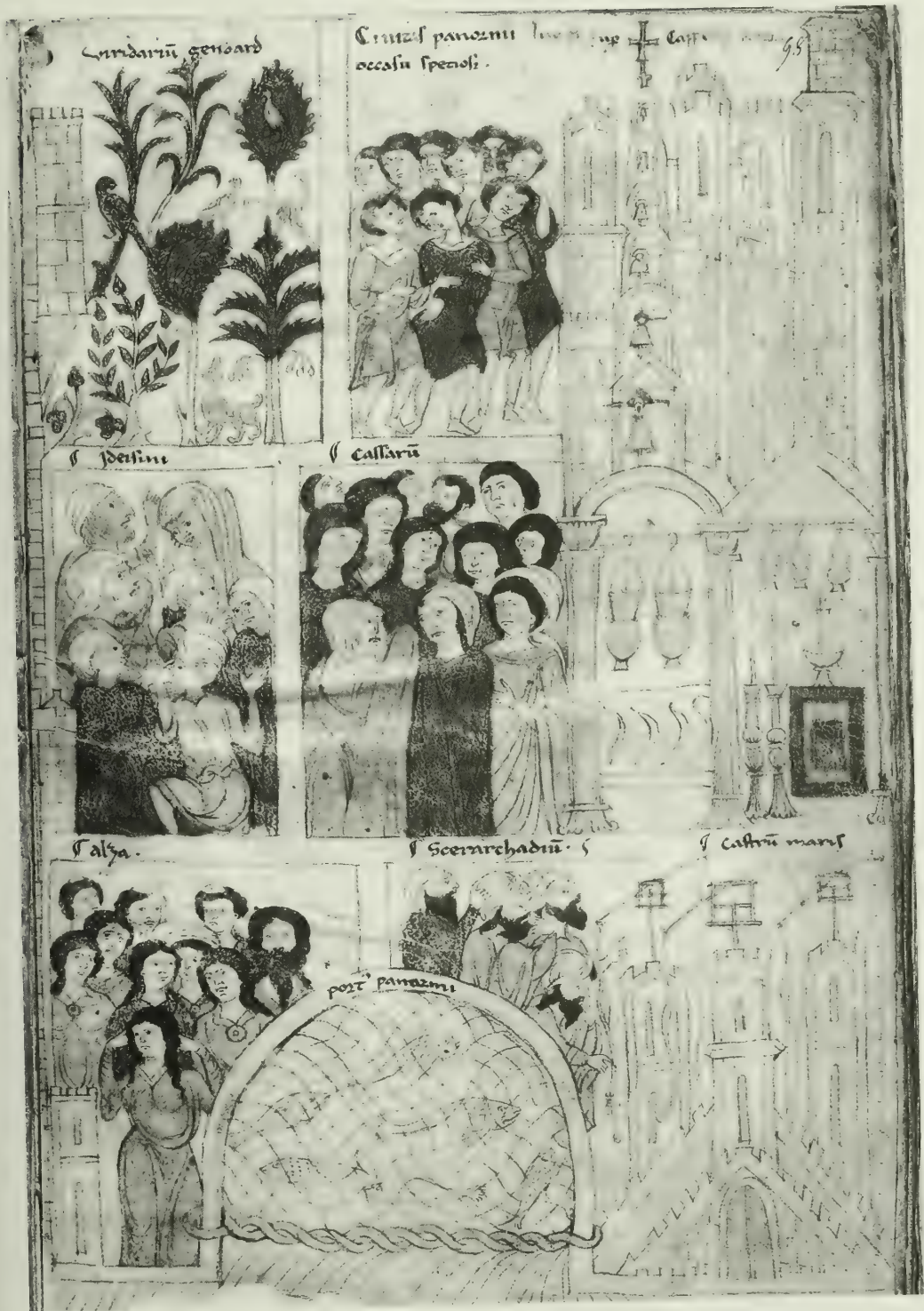
One more detail of *figure 1* must be noted before we discuss Tancred's instrumentarium in its entirety. Jingles appear on the trappings of the horses led by grooms in the procession. Again a Beatus manuscript provides an earlier example: just such jingles are seen in the image of one of the Apocalyptic Horsemen in the Silos Apocalypse.⁶⁰ The originality of the artist of *figure 1* lies not in the invention of such motifs, but in their use at the appropriate place. Jingles seem also to be present at another point in the procession: they are suspended from what has been interpreted as a ceremonial umbrella carried directly before Tancred in the top register of the drawing.⁶¹

58 Cf. Siragusa 1906: 160, Index II, s.v. "Edifici e loro parti: campanili."

59 Amalarius of Metz (ca. 780–850/851), quoted by Smits van Waesberghe 1951: 15, n. 13; Durandus of Mende (13th century), quoted in Du Cange: 1883–97 VI, 365–6.

60 London, British Library, MS. Add. 11695, fol. 102v, between 1091 and 1109. Color plate: Kitzinger 1983, pl. 12.

61 Schramm 1972: 582 and pl. 25b. Georgen 1981: 155 sees the object as a bell tree.



22. Palermo, with the campanile of the Capella Palatina (Palermo (?), 1194–95). Berne, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 120, fol. 98r. – Photo: Library

Tancred's procession

Viewing Tancred's procession as a whole (*fig. 1*), one still has to ask whether the musical elements in themselves contribute to the satirical aspect of the drawing, regardless of the prompting of the text accompanying it. To what extent can the scene be viewed as a solemn, festive procession whose dignified aspect is controverted only by the ridiculous small figure and monkey-features of the protagonist, Tancred?⁶²

Part of the answer to this question will depend on the order in which the four rows of figures are viewed. Frugoni refers to the "crowned mime" as "followed by a chorus of tambourines and cymbals of bronze" (Frugoni 1978: 151). This description implies a reading of the drawing starting with the uppermost row of figures. What we believe to be the correct reading, however — one starting with the bottom row of figures — has been given by Siragusa.⁶³ The procession is led by a soldier carrying a crossbow and five archers. Next come three grooms leading horses, followed by the wind band. This group is followed in the next tier of figures by five soldiers, four of them carrying lances, who are followed in turn by the drummers and cymbal-players.⁶⁴ Finally we have in the highest tier the members of Tancred's court, Tancred himself and his two sons. In this reading the musicians precede Tancred just as, in Henry VI's entry (*fig. 2*), the trumpeters precede the emperor; and Tancred, the most important figure, appears last, as in processions of the Church.⁶⁵

A miniature in the Madrid Skylitzes (*fig. 21*) provides a useful contrast to the formal structure of *figure 1*. Emperor Michael III (842–867), also known as Michael the Drunkard, had ordained a musician, Gryllos ("Pig"), as mock-patriarch, and eleven of his associates as metropolitans (Thurn 1973: 110; Liubarskij 1987: 44). *Figure 21* represents the occasion when the group, chanting a burlesque liturgy, met the true patriarch. The text of the Chronicle only mentions kythara-players (Thurn 1973: 110). What we see here are musicians playing a lute-like instrument, a pipe, cymbals and a psaltery. These instruments suggest the instruments of David's four musicians in numerous contemporary representations (Cf. Steger 1961 and Seebass 1973). The mix of instruments is a contribution of the illuminator, and the parodic intention is evident.

Another of the Skylitzes miniatures brings us closer to *figure 1*. It shows the entry of Emperor Nikephoros Phokas into Constantinople in 963, about to be crowned in Hagia Sophia (*fig. 15*). According to the text of the Chronicle, he was received by the people with acclamations and applause, trumpets and *kymbala* (Thurn 1973: 258). What the miniature actually shows is a group including musicians with three trumpets, a drum and a psaltery. This is an assembly of winds, percussion instruments and strings such as we frequently find in descriptions of occasions involving various classes of medieval society. We have seen one such example in the account of the transfer of relics in Benevento in 1119 (above p. 108). Another example is provided by a

62 The scene is described by Žak as "der feierliche Einzug" (1979: 76). On the caricature of Tancred as "dwarf" and "monkey", see Frugoni 1978: 150–2, and Georgen 1981: 151–5.

63 Siragusa 1905. Georgen 1981: 155 has suggested reminiscences of Roman triumphs. The present reading corresponds to the manner in which superimposed scenes would be read when a monument such as Trajan's Column is seen from a fixed point of observation (Strong 1988: 141–51).

64 At the very least, therefore, *fig. 1* cannot be used to show the use of winds and percussion in a single ensemble.

65 Žak 1979: 92. The papal coronation procession as described in 13th-century pontificals provides a good example. It is led by the Pope's horse (sing.) and proceeds through sixteen more groups, with the ninth group consisting of the subdeacon and deacon who read Epistle and Gospel in Greek and the seventeenth and last consisting of the Lord Pope (*dominus papa*) himself, with a subdeacon carrying a ceremonial cloth and a servant carrying an umbrella. The procession was put in order by the senior cardinal-deacon equipped with a rod (*ferula*). See Andrieu 1940: 376–7; Brentano 1974: 61.



23. Tancred of Lecce and Roger of Andria with their supporters (Palermo (?), 1194–95). Berne, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 120, fol. 99r. – Photo: Library

description of the reception of Henry VI in 1194 in Palermo (Hofmeister 1912: 62–3). The new ruler is met by a procession of citizens arranged in order of their station, from nobles to beardless youths and feeble children, each group offering acclamations according to its manner or skill “cum omnibus musice discipline instrumentis”.⁶⁶ *Figure 15*, with its accumulation of instruments, could be seen as referring to such a reception. Henry VI himself, however, enters Palermo with a military parade, a long procession of his soldiers shining in all the splendor of their arms.⁶⁷ This is the kind of royal entry we see also in his case in the Berne manuscript (*fig. 2*): the Emperor is preceded by his trumpeters and followed by mounted soldiers in full armor and carrying lances. The contrast with Tancred’s lance-bearing foot soldiers (*fig. 1*) is striking. It matches the contrast between the instruments that accompany Henry, entering Palermo “cum pompa nobili et triumpho glorioso” and those of Tancred’s “Triumphus spurii regis”.⁶⁸

Here we return to the question of the hierarchy of instruments in Tancred’s procession. Little more needs to be said about the significance of trumpets in royal processions, except to point out that it is the instruments themselves that served as symbols, quite independently of the character of individual trumpeters.⁶⁹ Peter of Eboli apparently saw no incongruity in the presence of Muslim musicians in the Emperor’s procession. With Tancred’s drums and cymbals we descend lower in the musical hierarchy. As military instruments, drums could accompany trumpets, but they were also popular and jongleurs’ instruments. Even within the musical profession, the playing of drums may have been denigrated.⁷⁰ There is very little information about the use of cymbals;⁷¹ one may even suspect that their presence in *figure 1* was determined by the opportunity they provided to refer to Tancred as a “crowned mime”. One of the connections which the contemporary reader and viewer might have made is with Prudentius’s Iocus, the associate of Luxuria who throws away his cymbals when defeated by the Virtues.⁷² How far Peter of Eboli’s entire poem can be regarded as a Battle of Virtues and Vices needs further study.

Whether regarded as popular or jongleurs’ instruments, the drums and cymbals could be regarded as vulgar intrusions into the well-organized structure of a royal procession. On other occasions also, Peter of Eboli opposes the nature of Tancred’s following to that of his opponents. In one of the illustrations dealing with the events of 1189, Tancred’s supporters are shown as the *vulgus*, armed with an assortment of axes, while the supporters of Tancred’s Sicilian rival, Count Roger of Andria, are shown as belted knights.⁷³ Even without Peter of Eboli’s prompting, therefore, the contemporary viewer might have considered the presence of drums and cymbals as appropriate, perhaps, to the popular rejoicings of a royal entry (cf. *fig. 15*), but incompatible with the dignity of the royal procession itself. Such, at least, appears to have been Peter of Eboli’s intention: the instruments accompanying Tancred of Lecce’s entry into Palermo were to be seen, not as elements of royal pomp and circumstance, but as part of a circus parade.

66 Žak suggests the presence of string instruments (1973: 266–7).

67 Hofmeister 1912: 62, line 27–63, line 2: “Imperator [...] omni armorum splendore rutilantem militiam exhibuit.”

68 This is Peter of Eboli’s labelling of the two scenes: see *figs. 1* and 2.

69 Žak 1979: 103–7. On the privileged status of trumpets as instruments of angels, see Hammerstein 1962: 205–17.

70 Cf. the thirteenth-century *Dit des taboueurs* quoted in Page 1989: 31–2, and the statutes of the Paris minstrels of 1321, *ibidem*: 61–3 and 204–5.

71 The problem may in good part be one of vocabulary. We agree with Žak that *tymbres* as used by Robert de Clari (our note 6 above) may refer to cymbals (in the modern sense); Žak 1979: 106, n. 146.

72 Frugoni (1978: 159) suggests that the Wheel of Fortune of the illustrated versions of Prudentius’ *Psychomachia* may be the source of Peter of Eboli’s use of the image.

73 The contrast between Roger of Andria’s imposing stature and Tancred’s dwarf-like appearance, as well as the disciplined stance of Roger’s supporters compared to the lack of organization of Tancred’s are graphic devices in the service of Peter’s polemic, which presents very much of a simplification of the events of 1189–90. For further instances, see Georgen 1981: 151–5.

APPENDIX: THE TUBA

(Joachim de Fiore, fols. 40v–41r) (Venice 1527)

ET AUDIUI POST ME UOCEN MAGUAM (*sic*) TANQUAM TUBE DICENTIS. QUOD UIDES SCRIBE IN LIBRO: & MITTE SEPTEM ECCLESIIS QUE SUNT IN ASIA.

Querendum esset cur se vocem quam audiuit sanctus iohannes: post se audisse perhibuit: nisi patens esset et euidens causa rationis. Dum enim ea legimus in sacra pagina que retro actis temporibus gesta sunt: et per ea spiritale aliquid nostro intellectui intus lucere incipit: quasi post dorsa nostra vocem spiritalem audimus. Est autem vox: alia parua: alia magna. Parua est que agit de terrenis: magna que loquitur de celestibus. Quocirca: vox ista quam audiuit Ioannes: magna est quasi tube: quia nequaquam agit de terrenis et transitoriis: sed magis de celestibus et mansuris: quia forma vasis huius quod tam in divina pagina celebre ac frequens est, universe Ecclesie sancte Dei representat mysterium. Est enim instrumentum ductile longum atque sonorum: inchoatum quidem ab arcto, sed in amplo productum. Et longitudo quidem eius tenuis est, exitus amplus: universum vero concavum, et ad concrepandum formatum. Gerit autem typum predicatorum Ecclesie, non eorum tantum que in Christo renati sunt, sed et eorum qui a seculo sunt prophetarum eius. Que quidem a principio arcta fuit in numero et occulta in voce usque ad tempora prophetarum: exinde vero largior et manifestior esse cepit: hoc est a diebus Osee et Isaie usque ad Ioannem Baptistam. Ibi denique dilatata et consummata est in apostolico choro: ubi et sonus eorum in modum tube grandis effectus est: ut quia temporis plenitudo advenerat vox occulta supra tectum veniret: et que parvo angustabatur populo, in gentium latitudinem funderetur, completo in versiculo illo, quem de doctoribus veritatis longe ante Psalmista predixerat: In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terra verba eorum. Sane distinctionem illam quam a diebus prophetarum prenotavimus, nodus ille tube designat: a quo tuba dilatari et grandescere incipit. Sicut enim a nodo tuba maior efficitur, ita a diebus Ozie ubi nodus quidam insertionis factus est, ad novum initiandum testamentum, et precones Christi multiplicari ceperunt et vox illorum plenius ad aures populorum devenit. Talem ergo vocem audivit Ioannes: non parvam que celanda esset in paucis, sed magnam, publicam et manifestam, et que egressa a iudeorum finibus ad gentium plenitudinem perveniret. Quod tamen et de ultima predicatione que erit in proximo, intelligi potest: de qua in persona Ioannis ordini quem Ioannes ipse designat, in sexto angelo tubis canentium* dictum est: Oportet te iterum prophetare: Populis et linguis et regibus multis. Et hec quidem ut dicta sunt: ita non incongrue accipi possunt quamvis sit aliud magis proprium quod valeat tube nomine designari. Scimus quia sonum tube duo pariter operantur: tuba scilicet atque flatus. Et quid per tubam que visibilis est, nisi superficies litere: que quodam modo cum legitur in libro videtur: aut quid per flatum qui invisibilis est et tamen emissus per tubam terribiliter sonat, nisi spiritualis intellectus: qui tam magna mala minatur reprobis: tam ingentia bona pollicetur electis?

* The text of the Venice edition may be corrupt here. In other places “*canens*” is in agreement with “*angelus*”: *sexti Angeli tuba canentis*, *sexto Angelo tuba canenti* (*Expositio* 1527, fol. 133v); *sexto angelo tuba canenti* (*Expositio* 1527, fol. 123r). The critical edition of the *Enchiridion super Apocalypsim*, edited by Edward Kilian Burger, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies 1986 (*Studies and Texts* 78), has *sexto angelo tuba canente* as a variant reading for *sexti angeli tuba canentis* (p. 29, line 662; see also p. 20, line 389; p. 24, line 527; p. 26, line 899).

Translation:

AND I HEARD BEHIND ME A GREAT VOICE, AS OF A TRUMPET, SAYING: WHAT THOU SEEST, WRITE IN A BOOK AND SEND TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES WHICH ARE IN ASIA:

It might have been asked why the voice which St. John heard, he asserted to have heard behind him: nor might the reason for the matter have been evident. Until, that is to say, we read in the Sacred Page the things which were accomplished in the events of former times: and through them something spiritual within begins to illumine our intellect: as if behind our backs we heard a spiritual voice. The voice, however, is: sometimes small, sometimes great. Small is that which concerns earthly things: large that which speaks of heavenly matters. And therefore: this voice which John heard: is great like a trumpet: for by no means is it a question of terrestrial and passing things, but far more of celestial and abiding ones. For the shape of this vessel, which is so famous and frequent in the Divine Page, represents the mystery of the universal Holy Church. It is actually a long and sonorous instrument of beaten metal, narrow at the start but [then] becoming wide. And [along] its length it is in fact slender, [in] its outlet wide: the whole indeed hollowed and fashioned to be resounding. It thus displays the image of the preachers of the Church, not just those who are reborn in Christ, but also those who are his prophets from the [earliest] ages. Which indeed from the beginning up to the time of the prophets was limited in number and hidden in voice: after which it began to be more abundant and manifest: this from the days of Hosea and Isaiah up to John the Baptist. Then at length it spread out and was consummated in the apostolic choir: when also their sound became ample in the way of the trumpet: so that because the fullness of time had arrived, the hidden voice might appear over the rooftops: and that which had been restricted to a small people would pour forth over the breadth of nations, thus fulfilling the verse which long before the Psalms had foretold of the doctors of the Truth: Their sound goes out in all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world. Indeed, the change from the days of the prophets onward which we had noted earlier is indicated by the knop of the trumpet: from which [point on] the trumpet begins to expand and become larger. Just as the trumpet becomes larger from the knop onward, so also from the days of Ozias when, as it were, the "knot" was made introducing the New Testament that was about to begin, Christ's heralds began to multiply and their voice reached more fully the ears of the people. John, therefore, heard a Voice of this kind: not [one that was] small and to be hidden among a few, but large, public and manifest and which, having gone forth out of the borders of the Jews, would reach the fullness of the gentiles. Which now can be understood as of the final proclamation that is shortly to be: of which it is said, with the sixth angel [among] those sounding the trumpets,** through the character of the Order of John which John himself denotes: Thou must prophesy again: to many peoples, and tongues, and kings. And this is indeed as it was said: thus it may not be unfittingly taken that there may be something else more appropriate which might deserve to be indicated by the name of the trumpet. We know that two [factors] of equal degree produce the sound of the trumpet: that is, the trumpet and the breath. And what does the trumpet which is visible signify if not the surface of a letter: which in a way can be seen as it is read in the book; or what by the breath, which is invisible and yet dreadfully resounds when given forth by the trumpet, if not the spiritual understanding: which equally threatens great punishment to the damned: and promises immense good to the elect?

** Reading "sexto angelo tuba canente."

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A musical interpretation of Andrea di Bonaiuto's *Allegory of the Dominican Order*

Eleonora M. Beck

The representation of music-making in Andrea di Bonaiuto's *Allegory of the Dominican Order* offers a tantalizing glimpse of the social uses of music and raises fascinating questions as to the significance, both direct and implied, of musical activities in the mid Trecento (*fig. 1*).¹ Located in the Spanish Chapel in the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, the fresco depicts St. Dominic leading the souls of the believers to the gates of heaven as popes and prelates assemble before the Duomo, heretics and sinners listen to Dominican preaching, and four aristocrats sit in a garden. Bonaiuto and his assistants painted the fresco between 1366–1368 with funds donated by Mico da Lapo Guidalotti, a wealthy Florentine merchant, who, according to Meiss, had just lost his wife to the plague (1951: 79). The meaning of the four aristocrats in the garden and the dancers beneath them has perplexed art and music historians and it will be the task of this investigation to provide a new reading of the picture based on an examination of the musical scene (*fig. 2*).

Dedicated to the cult of *Corpus Christi*, the chapel was the meeting place for spiritual, juridical and governmental gatherings of the Dominican community.² Examination and admission of candidates to the Order, election of the prior, and visitations all took place here. Distinguished guests were given tours of the space while the learned Dominican audience sat on benches adjacent to the walls of the main room. Catherine of Siena was even interrogated in the chamber after being accused of hypocrisy and presumption by the Sieneese. With a large following, the Order at Santa Maria Novella had about 140 members prior to the Black Death of 1348, which seems to have claimed the lives of about sixty *religiosi*. The theologian Fra Jacopo Passavanti (d. 1357), author of the influential *Lo Specchio di vera penitenza*, was among the Order's distinguished members. He is believed to have been a friend of Guidalotti and may have played a role in the development of the pictorial program. He is also remembered for his remarkable sermons to the laity in the main church.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries fervent heretical movements increasingly posed a threat to the hegemony of the Church. At the same time the Church's power was weakened because of the schism and the residence of the Popes in Avignon. Dissident voices, like that of Marsilio of Padua questioned the hierarchy of the Church and advocated that heretics be tolerated. Heretical sects such as the followers of Averroes and the Cathars were accused of rejecting some of the fundamental tenets of Christian belief. Later, William of Ockham spoke out against church hypocrisy (Leff 1975: 616). To impose the authority of the Church in these days of conflict was the goal of the foundation of the Dominican Order.

1 Part of a series of murals intended to glorify Aquinas and Dominican theological concepts, the *Allegory* is accompanied by seven other scenes: *Saint Thomas Aquinas Enthroned*, *Scene of St Peter Martyr*, and the *Crucifixion* on the walls; the *Ascension*, *Pentecost*, *Resurrection* and *Navicella* on the vaults. All the images are believed to have been completed by Bonaiuto and his assistants.

2 For the information in this paragraph we rely on Gardner 1979: 111–20.

The Dominicans were dedicated to the dissemination of their faith (see Hinnebusch 1967: 971–4). Famous preachers such as St. Dominic, St. Peter Martyr, and Aquinas were the primary spokesmen of the Order; its constitution reads:

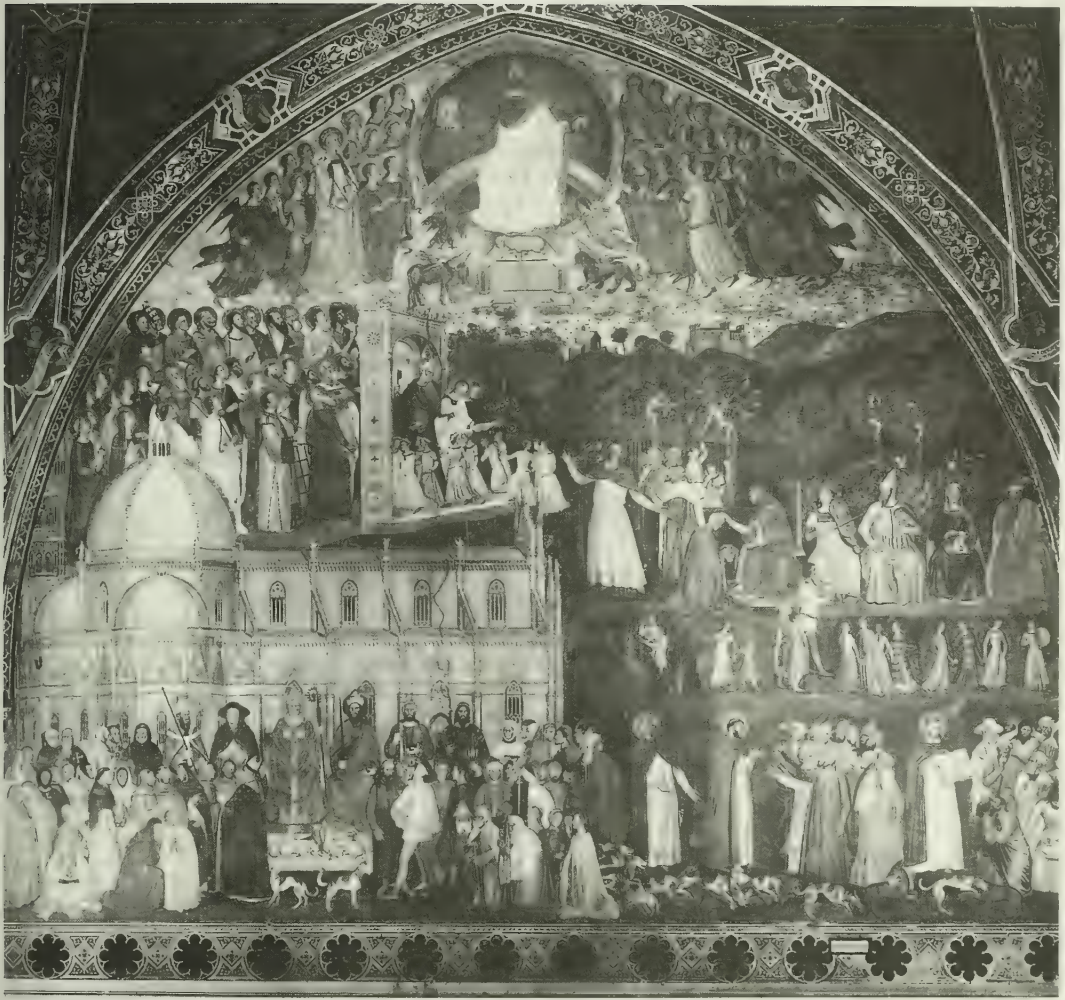
Our Order is known to have been founded from the beginning expressly for preaching and teaching from the abundance and fullness of contemplation in imitation of our most holy Father Dominic, who spoke only with God or of God for the benefit of souls. [Hinnebusch 1967: 971]

In addition, the Dominicans encouraged intellectual enrichment. Like every Dominican house, Santa Maria Novella created a *studium* (curriculum of academic offerings) open to laymen as well as monks who wished to receive an education in the arts of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. At first a *studium partiale*, the school at Santa Maria Novella was promoted in 1294 to *studium generale*, a full-scale university with the authority to award academic degrees.³

We are therefore not surprised that the purpose of the frescoes in the Spanish Chapel was to glorify the Church and Dominican doctrine while confronting the issue of heresy. The *Allegory of the Dominican Order* on the east wall depicts the journey to heaven with St. Dominic showing the way while preaching to heretics and forgiving sinners. The fictitious journey begins on earth at the Duomo of Florence with Giotto's tower to the far left, and winds past St. Dominic inciting the *domini canes* to attack the wolves (heretics).⁴ To their right St. Peter Martyr and Aquinas argue with heretics. Traveling farther up the road at the center of the fresco, St. Dominic shows the penitent way to the gates of Paradise. Fra Jacopo Passavanti blesses the donor of the image, Mico di Lapo, to the right. Farther to St. Dominic's left, souls (traditionally depicted as children) move to the gates where St. Peter greets them. Beyond the gates awaits the Church Triumphant with its array of saints and martyrs.⁵ Christ in Majesty, flanked by hosts of angels, crowns the image.

The *Allegory of the Dominican Order* is divided compositionally into four principal areas. The first area transverses the bottom of the image, and consists of the line of popes, prelates, Dominic and the black and white dogs, and preachers converting the heretics and Jews. The second area, or the right ("good") side of Christ, contains the dominant Cathedral of Florence and the figure of Peter at the gates of heaven with angels; the third area covers the left ("sinister") side of Christ where four aristocrats sit in a garden with dancers performing beneath them. Also in the third area Jacopo Passavanti is positioned blessing the donor while children climb trees and eat fruits above. The fourth area is occupied by Christ and angels in glory unifying the image from on high. St. Dominic, who appears three times in the course of the narrative, connects the two earthly worlds. He is pictured twice in the central axes of the fresco: 1) at the bottom, pointing to the dogs who attack the wolves (heretics), and 2) in the center of the image, leading the souls of the believers to the gates of heaven. He appears a third time in the area to the left of the gates, where he is standing (fourth from the left) among the saints looking up at Christ and holding an iris.

- 3 Orlandi 1988: 81. The school was upgraded to *generale* under the direction of Remigio de' Girolami, a disciple of Aquinas in Paris. It lost its title in 1563.
- 4 The theme of following a path captured in Bonaiuto's fresco is similar to that of Dante's *Divine Comedy* where the protagonist recounts sights, sounds, and events during his journey. In fact, as Belting has pointed out, the *Inferno* begins with the phrase "Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita" (1985: 161).
- 5 We refer the reader to the description of the scene in Offner and Steinweg 1979: 34: "top row, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Gregory(?), SS. Francis, Dominic, James Major, Peter, Paul, Andrew, John the Evangelist and John the Baptist; in front of them in lines of four, from right to left, four Old Testament figures: David, Noah, Solomon, Moses; four martyrs: SS. Stephen, Peter Martyr, Leonard(?), Lawrence; directly behind the latter a virgin martyr; among the remaining saints, S. Miniato carrying his head, SS. Constantine the Great(?), Augustine(?), Benedict, Ambrose(?), Bernard, Mary Magdalen, Catherine, Blessed Joan of Florence, Agnes."



1. Andrea di Bonaiuto, *Allegory of the Dominican Order*. Florence, Santa Maria Novella, Spanish Chapel.
– Photo: Alinari

In addition to the vertical division, Bonaiuto's composition is also constructed along horizontal lines. The bottom-most space consists of figures of similar size stretched across the plane of the picture. The next tier contains, on the left, the cathedral and on the right young women dancing, a man playing a bagpipe, four figures sitting and Guidalotti being blessed. On the next tier on the left, Bonaiuto depicts the gates of heaven and the Church Triumphant and on the right, an orchard with young people picking fruits; further in the distance a country landscape can be discerned. On the uppermost tier, Christ with his hands spread, holding a book and a key, unites the two halves of the fresco.

Four distinct representations of music appear in Bonaiuto's fresco. From top to bottom one finds 1) angels singing in heaven, 2) a young woman playing the vielle in the orchard, 3) a young man blowing a bagpipe in an intermediate position to the lower left of the woman, and 4) seven young women dancing accompanied by a woman playing a tambourine.

The significance of the figures in the orchard (four seated, eight dancing women and an intermediate bagpipe player; *fig. 2*) has long been a source of scholarly debate. As we shall demonstrate, writers in the past have suggested either a completely negative or an entirely positive reading of their significance. In order to understand these opposing scholarly viewpoints and the manner in which their interpretations determine the significance of the entire picture, it will be necessary, first of all, to examine the figures closely.

From left to right, the four seated figures consist of a woman playing the *vielle*, a man holding a falcon, a woman holding a small white dog (this figure has also been described as a monkey and a lion), and a man in contemplation. They sit on a platform made of wood surrounded by dark vegetation. Serena Romano (1976: 205–6) proposes symbolic significance for the trees that border these figures. Citing the *Clavis* of Melitone, she interprets the apple tree behind the *vielle* player as a symbol of “perfecta anima, vel opera”; the cedar tree behind the man with the falcon symbolizes “superbia” and “causa dell’altezza”; and the pomegranate tree behind the woman with the dog, love and fecundity. Finally, the walnut tree behind the last figure would symbolize “sanità” and “virtù morale”.

On the other hand, because of its position directly above the heretics on the left hand side of Christ, some scholars have interpreted the scene as a manifestation of evil. Stefano Orlandi believes the four seated figures represent vices:

not only is it necessary to convert heretics and infidels, but also those bad Catholics who let themselves be corrupted by three capital vices and by pleasure in general: *Pleasure* (girl playing the viola), *Pride* (haughty man dressed in white, with a falcon in his left hand), *Lust* (dressed in red and holding a monkey), and *Avarice* (wrapped in a green mantel and pensive).⁶

Howard Mayer Brown also views the figures in a negative way. Like Orlandi, he believes that their position to the left of Christ determines their meaning: “the merry-makers have not yet found the redemption of the Church, nor the way to salvation. They are sinners, and Andrea Bonaiuto has associated them with music in order to make his message clear.”⁷ Battaglia Ricci (1989: 157) also chooses the negative reading, pointing out the similarities with the “brigata” of the *Triumph of Death*. She believes that they are sinners waiting to be pardoned for their actions by the priest to their left. To buttress her argument she takes up Marino’s point that the figure to the farthest right in the dark green may be the same man who is confessing to Passavanti on the left, thus suggesting that he is contemplating his sin while sitting in the garden (1983: 13–4). Meiss also interprets the garden and its surrounding activities as evil: “above, but still on the sinister side, men, women and youths are enjoying the pleasures of the world, dancing, playing music or listening to it, and eating fruits” (1951: 98).

According to Romano, the somewhat dated analysis by Hermann Hettner (1879: 119–20) is the only one (besides her own) that offers a positive reading of the scene. Hettner sees it as a symbolic representation of human virtues. The woman with the *vielle* recalls the triumph over the flesh; the man holding a falcon represents the triumph over worldliness; and the woman with her finger in the lion’s mouth, the triumph over the devil; the pensive man is the meditating philosopher, one who lives the contemplative life. Romano agrees with Hettner’s viewpoint and believes it would be redundant of the artist to devote another scene to sinners directly above the heretics. For Romano (1976: 204), the woman playing the *vielle* is to be understood as the

6 1988: 58. He believes that these figures once had explanatory inscriptions along the step at their feet.

7 1985: 83. He cites another picture by Andrea da Bonaiuto painted in the 1370s in the Campo Santo of Pisa depicting the life of the city’s patron, Saint Ranieri. He also calls this an example of “sinful worldliness”.



2. Bonaiuto, *Allegory*. Detail: garden and dancers. – Photo: Alinari

“virtutes in cordae extantae” derived from the *Clavis*. Also positive is her reading of the woman with the dog, which she sees as a symbol of fidelity and honor. The man holding the falcon is described as a representation of “bourgeois” values. Devlin sees the fourth figure as a philosopher or a portrait of Petrarch.⁸

The interpretation of the orchard scene is vital to the understanding of the entire image. If one reads the scene as negative then the whole fresco becomes a juxtaposition of good versus evil: church believers versus sinners, heaven versus hell. Interpreting the picture as a journey on a path towards heaven, one must forsake the temptation of pleasure (music, love, hunting, idle contemplation) in order to achieve true glory with God. On the other hand, if one views the right side in a positive way, as a representation of virtuous earthly activities, then the journey is one from heaven on earth to the kingdom of God; the orchard scene is therefore not a representation of sin, but rather a necessary step in the attainment of God and salvation.

I propose a new reading of music in the *Allegory of the Dominican Order* based on the doctrine of Aquinas and other Dominicans. Aquinas espoused a generally positive view towards

8 Devlin 1929: 279. She suggests the identification because the figure's features resemble a portrayal of the poet in an early-fifteenth-century fresco by Andrea Castagno, and asks, “if he is Petrarch may not, then, the lady beside him with a small animal of some kind be Laura?”

the inclusion of music in devotional practice as well as the playing of music in secular venues. In this belief, Aquinas fashioned a more tolerant approach than his predecessors Augustine and Jerome, who stressed the potentially irrational enjoyment elicited by music. The Dominicans also supported a greater acceptance of music in education and church ceremony. For Aquinas and the Dominicans a temperate participation in earthly music becomes a means towards the ultimate goal, the contemplation of God.

Aquinas received a thorough musical training in his youth (Weisheipl 1974: 11). At an early age he studied at the *schola cantorum* of Monte Cassino where singing was taught using the method of Guido d'Arezzo. Later he attended a school in Naples where he was trained in the liberal arts of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. Umberto Eco (1988: 16) relates that "numerous stories of Aquinas's cultivation in music exist", among them the attribution of a spurious treatise, *Ars Musica*, and a citation in Jehan de Muris' *De Tonis* (ca. 1323). Eco believes that Aquinas's numerous quotations from Boethius and Augustine "reveal an undeniable mastery of the subject" (1988: 16).

Aquinas's ideas concerning music are scattered among his commentaries on Aristotle and particularly in his *Summa Theologica*. Part II-II, Question 91 of the *Summa Theologica*, entitled "Of Taking the Divine Name for the Purpose of Invoking It by Means of Praise," contains his most comprehensive discussion of musical practice. In typical Thomistic fashion he weighs the merits and flaws of a particular issue, agreeing with the principles outlined in the "reply" portion of his argument. In the case of music he questions "whether God should be praised with song?" First he lists objections extracted from the Gospels and earlier theologians. Objection 2 cites Jerome in Eph. 5:19: *Audiant haec adolescentuli, audiant hi, quibus in Ecclesiae est psallendi officium Deo non voce, sed corde cantandum: nec in tragoedorum modum guttur, et fauces medicamine liniendae sunt, ut in Ecclesia theatrales moduli audiantur, et cantica*. Aquinas then comments; "non ergo in laudes Dei sunt cantus assumendi."⁹ Objection 4 concerns instruments, and Aquinas quotes Ps. 32:2, 3: *Confitemini Domino in cithara, in psalterio decem chordarum psallite illi: cantate ei canticum novum*; and explains: "sed instrumenta musica, sicut citharas, et psalteria, non assumit Ecclesia in divinas laudes, ne videatur iudaizare; ergo pari ratione nec cantus in divinas laudes sunt assumendi."¹⁰

On the contrary side of the argument (i.e., upholding the practice of music in praise of God), Aquinas first cites Ambrose, who established singing in the Church of Milan as Augustine relates in his *Confessions IX*. Aquinas then writes:

Respondeo dicendum, quod, sicut dictum est, laus vocalis ad hoc necessaria est, ut affectus hominis provocetur in Deum, et ideo quaecumque ad hoc utilia esse possunt, in divinas laudes congruenter assumuntur: manifestum est autem, quod secundum diversas melodias sonorum, animi hominum diversimode disponuntur; ut patet per Philos. in 8. Polit. (cap. 5.6. et 7.) et per Boetium in prol. musicae (seu lib. I. cap. I.); et ideo salubriter fuit institutum, ut in divinas laudes cantus assumerentur, ut animi infirmorum magis provocarentur ad devotionem; unde Augustin. dicit in 10. Confes. (cap. 33): *Adducor cantandi consuetudinem approbare in Ecclesia, ut per oblectamente aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat*; et de se ipso dicit in 9. Conf. (cap. 6.) *Flevi in hymnis, et canticis tuis suave sonantis Ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter*.¹¹

9 1923: 657. Translation: "Therefore God should not be praised in song" (Aquinas 1981: 1584).

10 1923: 657. Translation: "but the Church does not make use of musical instruments, such as harps and psalteries, in the divine, for fear of imitating the Jews. Therefore in like manner neither should song be used in the divine praises" (Aquinas 1981: 1584).

11 1923: 657-8. Translation: "As stated above, the praise of the voice is necessary in order to arouse man's devotion towards God. Wherefore whatever is useful in conducting this result is becomingly adopted in the divine praises. Now it is evident that the human soul is moved in various ways according to various melodies of sound, as the

From his discussion of Ambrose and Augustine it appears that Aquinas is in favor of praising God in song. Music provides the desired effect by eliciting the requisite feeling of devotion (see Eco 1988: 130). Returning to Bonaiuto's fresco, the representation of the singing angels flanking Christ may reflect Aquinas's acceptance of song in devotional practice. Indeed musical angels virtually saturate Trecento sacred images, as Hammerstein (1962), Ghisi (1978: 308–13) and Brown (1980: 112–40) have described.¹²

But what about secular music? What were Aquinas's views concerning the performance of music apart from devotional practice? How did he view pure instrumental music? For the answers, one must begin with an examination of Aquinas's comments on a passage from Aristotle's *Politics*. In reply to Objection 4, Aquinas writes:

sicut Philos. dicit in 8. Polit. (cap. 6): *Neque fistulas ad disciplinam est adducendum, neque aliquod aliud artificiale organum, puta citharam: et si quid tale alterum est; sed quaecumque faciunt auditores bonos: huiusmodi enim musica instrumenta magis animum movent ad delectationem, quam per ea formetur interius bona dispositio: in veteri autem testamento usus erat talium instrumentorum: tum quia populus erat magis durus, et carnalis: unde erat per huiusmodi instrumenta provocandus; sicut et per promissiones terrenas; tum etiam quia huiusmodi instrumenta corporalia aliquod figurabant.*¹³

In this passage, Aquinas seems to reiterate his views with respect to vocal music. He admits that instruments have the power to move the souls of the faint-hearted. Instruments such as the harp [*recte*: lyre] are dangerous because their only goal is to create pleasure. In the next phrase, however, he recognizes that the true value of musical instruments is in creating a "good disposition" in the soul for the contemplation of God. Music should not distract the souls of the believers, but rather enhance communication with God.

Aristotle's views concerning musical education appear in Book VIII of his *Politics* (462). The philosopher stresses that music serves three basic functions: 1) amusement, 2) the formation of character, and 3) a contribution to "civilized pursuits and practical wisdom" (1981: 462). By amusement he means that music provides refreshment from labor and a pleasant way to forget worries. With regard to character formation he speaks of particular modes that will affect the soul and contribute to the development of virtuous character. The notion of "civilized pursuits and practical wisdom" has the most bearing on Aquinas's beliefs on music as represented in Bonaiuto's *Allegory of the Dominican Order*.

For both Aristotle and Aquinas, music is viewed as a means of understanding a higher truth. In the case of Aristotle, music aids in the development of practical wisdom. Practical wisdom may be defined as the engagement of rationality in the understanding of knowledge (Depew 1991: 368). In

Philosopher [Aristotle] states (*Politics*, VIII. 5), and also Boethius (*De Musica*, prologue). Hence the use of music in the divine praises is a salutary institution, that the souls of the faint-hearted be the more incited to devotion. Wherefore Augustine says (*Conf.* X. 33): *I am inclined to approve of the usage of singing in the church, that so by the delight of the ears the faint-hearted may rise to the feeling of devotion:* and he says of himself (*ibidem*. IX. 6): *I wept in Thy hymns and canticles, touched to the quick by the voices of Thy sweet-attuned Church.* (Aquinas 1981: 1584)

12 H. M. Brown's discussion of the Golden Legend is particularly helpful.

13 1923: 658. Translation: "As the Philosopher says (*Politics*, VIII. 6): *Teaching should not be accompanied with a flute or any artificial instrument such as the cithara or anything else of this kind: but only with such things as make good hearers.* For such like musical instruments move the soul to pleasure rather than create a good disposition within it. In the Old Testament, instruments of this description were employed, both because the people were more coarse and carnal — so that they needed to be aroused by such instruments as also by earthly promises — and because these material instruments were figures of something else" (Aquinas 1981: 1585). Returning then to the crucial passage in Aquinas where he discusses instrumental music, one can read it perhaps as an understanding of the enormous power music has to move the soul. His refutation of the practice seems to be for that reason, rather than because the playing of a musical instrument is in and of itself a sinful practice.

the *Politics*, practical wisdom is encouraged through leisure activity, particularly musical, since the appreciation of music requires specific knowledge and training. Aristotle explains:

And since it so happens that music belongs to the class of things pleasant, and since virtue has to do with enjoying oneself in the right way, with liking and hating the right things, clearly there is no more important lesson to be learned or habit to be formed than that of right judgement and of delighting in good characters and noble actions. [1981: 465]

Furthermore:

Hence, in the past, men laid down music as part of education, not as being necessary, for it is not in that category, nor yet as being useful in the way that a knowledge of reading and writing is useful for business or household administration, for study, and for many of the activities of a citizen, nor as a knowledge of drawing seems useful for the better judging of the products of a skilled worker, nor again as gymnastics is useful for health and vigor — neither of which do we see gained as a result of music. There remains one purpose — for civilized pursuits during leisure; and that is clearly the reason why they do introduce it, for they give it a place in what they regard as the civilized pursuits of free men. [...] Similarly they must learn drawing, not for the sake of avoiding mistakes in private purchases, and so that they may not be taken in when buying and selling utensils, but rather because it teaches one to be observant of physical beauty. [1981: 456–7]

In his examination of music in the *Politics*, David Depew describes the cultivation of practical wisdom during leisure time as one leading to contemplation, an activity engaged in by the free man in Aristotle's world view. By contemplation Depew means the citizen's active re-evaluation of his role in the *polis* and the imagination of the highest principles of government as delineated in *Politics* VII, i–iii. He writes:

For contemplative wisdom will be seen from the perspective of genuine practical wisdom itself as emergent from and continuous with the musical and musically attended leisure activities that occupy a prominent place in the life of a best state. [1991: 370]

The notion of contemplation illuminates the meaning of Bonaiuto's seated figure in the garden holding his hand to his cheek. Interpreted in an Aristotelian sense, the man signifies the act of contemplation during leisure time fostered by the strains of the *vielle*.

Aquinas's opinions concerning music reflect some of the same principles. Music is also a vehicle for the contemplation of a higher set of beliefs, namely the glorification of God. Here he echoes the teaching of Augustine, who accepts the practice of music in the liturgy if done in moderation, without overly exciting the passions. For indeed, music has the ability to move the spirit of weak people, who otherwise would not allow themselves to be affected by God.

Umberto Eco also argues that music has a place in "disinterested contemplation apart from a liturgical setting" (1988: 134). He cites a section in the *Summa Theologica* devoted appropriately to Temperance (Q. 141), where Aquinas speaks about the senses, particularly that of touch, asserting that "the pleasures of the other senses play a different part in man and in other animals." Humans can find pleasure in the senses apart from the sense of touch:

sicut leo delectatur videns cervum, vel audiens vocem ejus, propter cibum: homo autem delectatur secundeum alios sensus, non solum propter hoc, sed etiam propter convenientiam sensibilium.¹⁴

14 Art. 4 Reply Obj. 3, 1923: 921. Translation: "Thus the lion is pleased to see the stag, or to hear its voice, in relation to his food. On the other hand, man derives pleasure from the other senses, not only for this reason, but also on account of the becomingness of the sensible object" (1981: 1762).

With regards to sound he explains:

et sic circa delectationes aliorum sensuum, in quantum referentur ad delectationes tactus, est temperantia, non principaliter, sed ex consequenti: inquantum autem sensibilia aliorum sensuum sunt delectabilia propter sui convenientiam, sicut cum delectatur homo in sono bene harmonizato, ista delectatio non pertinet ad conservationem naturae; unde non habent hujusmodi passiones illam principalitatem, ut circa eas antonomastice temperantia dicatur.¹⁵

For Eco, this passage suggests Aquinas's belief in the purely contemplative practice of music separate from its effects or its function (1988: 134). Eco continues, "There is a kind of pleasure, simultaneously sensible and intellectual, to be got from harmony in sound; not only is it not sinful, but it is one of those prerogatives which make human being superior." (*ibidem*)

My theory concerning secular music, Aristotle, Aquinas and the Dominican Order is further supported by Christopher Page in his monograph *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300*. Page outlines the increasing influence of Aristotelian doctrine on writing devoted to music by clergy members, most notably the Dominicans. He writes, "Meditating upon the usefulness of human actions led many theologians to digress towards a kind of 'political' thought in the sense that the good of the city or urban community was increasingly recognized as the supreme criterion for usefulness" (1989: 35). During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the clergy expressed an increased acceptance of secular music as pastime because they understood that leisure was vital in the promulgation of a productive society faithful to God. Page quotes a Dominican theologian, Rainerus of Pisa, who explains the importance of secular diversions in his *Pantheologia*, begun in 1333. "Some office may legitimately be established for all those things which are useful to human dealings, and therefore even the office of minstrels, established to bring some solace to men, is not illicit in itself." (1989: 37)¹⁶

In the context of Bonaiuto's *Allegory of the Dominican Order*, the woman playing a vielle in the orchard can thus be interpreted — in the Thomistic sense — as a representation of tempered pleasure leading the soul to contemplation. Indeed, the expression of the female player is serene and pensive, almost as if her mind were on something else. Her playing is not sinful or symbolic of lust or lasciviousness as has been suggested. When enjoyed in a reasoned manner, not to excess, music represents the joys of life on earth, and a glimpse of the eternal happiness one can obtain in heaven.

Several important late-medieval music treatises devote space to the playing of the vielle. Jerome of Moravia, a Dominican living in Paris and a contemporary of Aquinas, wrote a brief passage on vielle instruction. In a chapter from his *Tractatus de Musica* (ca. 1280), intended for well-educated, Latin-reading Parisians — "fratres ordinis nostri vel alii" — Jerome instructs the player that "quibus visis et memorie commendatis totam artem viellandi habere poteris arte usui applicata."¹⁷

Jerome suggests that the playing of the vielle is appropriate for both sacred and secular music. In his discussion of tuning he states that the five strings of the vielle can be tuned in three different ways according to the type of music performed. By type, Jerome seems to imply a

15 Art 4 Reply Obj. 3, 1923: 921. Translation: "Wherefore temperance is about the pleasures of the other senses, in relation to pleasures of touch, not principally but consequently: while in so far as the sensible objects of the other senses are pleasant on account of their becomingness, as when a man is pleased at a well-harmonized sound, this pleasure has nothing to do with the preservation of nature" (1981: 1762).

16 See Rebecca Balzer (1991: 500) for a review and summary of Page's book.

17 The edition of Jerome's *Tractatus* and the translation are from Page (1979: 92–3).



3. Bonaiuto, *Allegory*. Detail: dancers. – Photo: Alinari

division between sacred and secular music. For he says that the second tuning, “alius necessarius est propter laycos et omnes alios cantus.”¹⁸ This information is crucial to the discussion of Bonaiuto’s fresco because it clearly demonstrates that the Dominicans did not have an aversion to the playing of the vielle — whether for secular or sacred music. Indeed, like Aristotle, Jerome believed that an education in music was important for the young student. Though he does not speak in detail about Aristotle’s notions of musical education and its effects, he does refer to the “philosopher” when discussing the vielle. He writes, “Quoniam autem secundum philosophum in paucioribus via magna, ideo primo de rubeba, postea de viellis dicemus” (89). Indeed, he cites Aristotle in much the same way as Aquinas does.

Johannes of Grocheo, a music theorist well-versed in Aristotelian philosophy, also wrote about the vielle. In the introduction to his treatise *De Musica* (c. 1300), written in Paris for a group of young music students, Grocheo asserts that music “in hoc etiam excellit alias artes, quod immediatius ad creatoris laudem et gloriam totaliter ordinatur” (1963: 41). He argues that knowledge of music is necessary to those who wish to have a complete understanding of bodies moving and being moved (1963: 42). This understanding of physical properties of music and harmony alludes to Aristotelian ideas of practical wisdom because the study of music fosters the contemplation of the physical qualities of nature. Later, Grocheo makes a particular point of praising the vielle because the instrument most thoroughly promotes the understanding of musical forms:

Quemadmodum enim anima intellectiva alias formas naturales in se virtualiter includit et tetragonum trigonum et maior numerus minorem, ita viella in se virtualiter alia continet instrumenta.

18 Jerome of Moravia, *Tractatus*, p. 91. Page (1989: 96–7) interprets the passage as follows: “Here Jerome’s Latin may be construed in two ways, both equally correct: (1) laycos may be taken as an adjective (secular) governing cantus, thus the full phrase would be rendered “another is necessary for secular songs”; (2) laycos may be taken as a noun (laity) thus: “another is necessary for the laity and all other types of song”. The difference between the two renderings is not, perhaps, as significant as it may first appear; Jerome describes this tuning as specially appropriate for secular music in one, and for secular musicians in the other.”



4. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Effects of Good Government in the City*. Siena, Palazzo Pubblico. – Photo: Alinari

Licet enim aliqua instrumenta suo sono magis moveant animos hominem, puta in festis, hastiludiis et torneamentis tympanum et tuba, in viella tamen omnes formae musicales subtilius discernuntur.¹⁹

Jerome and Grocheo specifically choose the vielle as an appropriate instrument for instruction because of its versatility. In their view, then, the playing of the vielle contributes to the relaxation necessary for the contemplation of God. This philosophical opinion appears to be represented in the image of the vielle player in Bonaiuto's fresco.

The seven dancers and one tambourine player pictured beneath the orchard reinforce the positive nature of the scene (fig. 3). The figures recall the elegant dancers in Lorenzetti's *Effects of Good Government in the City* (fig. 4), and the women positioned in a frieze-like manner beneath Giotto's *Justice* (figs. 5 and 6) in the Arena chapel. In both of these cases, the dancers represent justice and harmony.²⁰ If Bonaiuto's orchard scene were representative of sin and vice, it would make no sense to include these dancers unless they are portrayed as having been knocked down and assaulted, as is the case in the two images that illustrate vice: Lorenzetti's *Mal Governo* and Giotto's *Injustice* (figs. 5 and 7).

The player of the bagpipe to the upper left of the group is more difficult to interpret (fig. 2). Though clearly an earthy "loud" instrument commonly played at lively banquets and weddings, it is also associated with prayer, and is often depicted as being played by angel consorts: a very prominent angel bagpipe player appears in Orcagna's *Strozzi Altarpiece* (1354–57), also in Santa Maria Novella. The instrument's dual role is explained by James Hall in his dictionary of iconography, where he observes that the bagpipe is a typical instrument of European peasant-

19 1963: 52. Translation: "Just as the intellective soul includes within itself virtually all the other natural forms, as a tetragon includes a triangle, and as a larger number a smaller, so the vielle includes in itself virtually all the others. Although some instruments by their sound may move the souls of men more (than others), [...] on the vielle, however, all musical forms are understood more thoroughly."

20 For a further discussion on the meaning of these frescoes, see Uta Feldges-Henning (1972: 145–62). For the meaning of music in these frescoes, see chapter 1 of my *Singing in the garden: an examination of music in Trecento painting and Boccaccio's Decameron*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1993.



5. Giotto, *Justice and Injustice*. Padua, Arena Chapel. – Photo: Alinari

culture; it figures prominently in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the paintings of the Nativity-scene and occurs also in angel concerts.²¹

Bonaiuto seems to be portraying the bagpipe's twofold symbolism in his *Allegory of the Dominican Order*. First, the instrument represents the joy of living by accompanying the actions of the adolescents who dance, climb trees, eat fruit and converse. Second, the instrument reflects the inspiration or “breath” of God that permeates this entire picture by its appearance in an essentially spiritual context, the path toward heaven. The position of the player midway between the four seated figures and the dancers may indicate that he is a professional player. I suggest this because he recalls the fiddle player in a fresco by Buffalmacco; positioned all the way to the right on a different plane and wearing clothes perhaps appropriate for a *giullare*, he has been identified as a professional.²²

If the figures in the orchard and the surrounding events represent a middle stage in the journey towards knowledge of God, it would follow that musical knowledge can be learned

21 1974: 38. For the special literature on the bagpipe in medieval Italian art, see Della Porta and Genovesi 1990. See also Guizzi and Leydi (1985), Cleopatra and Sarica (1985), and Homo-Lechner (1988).

22 H. M. Brown 1985: 80. The fresco was completed between 1330 and 1345 and forms part of a triptych-like program with the *Last Judgement* and *Legends of the Anchorites*. The *Triumph* includes a scene of three men and seven women seated in a garden engaging in conversation, contemplation and music making. See Oertel 1965: 247–308; Bellosi 1974; Borsook 1980: 9; and Kuhns 1989: 65–70. For reproductions of the *Triumph*, see Belting and Blume 1989: figs. 96, 108, and 109.



6-7. Giotto, *Justice and Injustice*. Details. – Photo: Alinari

during life on earth and applied in the contemplation of God and the earthly delights of music and dance. How does this usage relate, then, to the scene immediately below it: St. Peter Martyr and Aquinas converting the heretics? For if we interpret the garden scene as sinful it would seem redundant for the artist to paint two concurring images of sin on top of another. Is it not more likely that the orchard scene represents a refutation of heretical beliefs?

During the eleventh through thirteenth centuries the Cathars constituted the leading heretical sect in Europe. In contrast to grand and often corrupt Catholic institutions, the Cathars favored a more Bible-oriented, personal morality. They believed that there were two eternal powers, good and evil (H. O. J. Brown 1984: 257–8). The good was related to the soul and God, while the bad was responsible for the creation of the material world. Man was thus a mixture of two opposing, irreconcilable forces. Indeed, the incarnation of God in Jesus was thought not to be feasible since matter was evil. For the same reason Cathars had no church buildings and did not use crosses. They avoided marriage because it perpetuated the evil, material body. They abstained from meat, partly because it was a food engendered by procreation, partly because of their belief in metempsychosis or Reincarnation.

As previously stated, one of the goals of the Dominican Order was to quell the spread of heresy. St. Peter Martyr, born in Verona, symbolized the battle against the Cathars in Italy. Peter spent the majority of his efforts in Milan converting heretics. In the years 1244–45 he travelled to Florence to battle zealous church dissidents and delivered daily sermons in front of the church of Santa Maria Novella. In fact, the city authorities purchased more land in front of the church to accommodate the large crowds. One day a fight broke out between a heretical sect and a

newly formed fraternity. St. Peter Martyr, who led the fraternity, chased the infidels to the Arno where they perished before they could cross the river (Loos 1974: 194).²³

In the *Allegory of the Dominican Order*, Bonaiuto portrays St. Peter Martyr preaching to the heretics. Though they wear no particularly distinguishable clothing, these men are probably members of the Cathar sect (or their sympathizers) since St. Peter was known to battle them before Santa Maria Novella. If these men are Cathars, it strengthens my argument that the orchard scene above represents the good, healthy pleasures of life experienced in the journey toward the contemplation of God, rather than the sins of worldliness. The orchard and its surrounding actions portray material life, actions of the body that Cathars would define as evil. The hunting of animals, the preponderance of children (fruits of unwanted marriage), music, and dance relate to the pleasure of the body and the senses. These elements seem to be antithetical to the heretical beliefs of the dissidents. The fresco appears to be a visual recipe for salvation according to the Dominican Order. In the progress toward the knowledge of God, heretics must be converted, Church authority — symbolized by the Duomo and the seated members of the Church's political hierarchy — enforced, and pleasures of the senses, most prominently music, enjoyed in tempered fashion.

23 St. Peter was later assassinated on his way from Como to Milan in 1252. In art, he is often pictured with a wound to the head and shoulder (Loos 1974: 194).

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Misleading iconography: the case of the “Adimari Wedding Cassone”

Timothy J. McGee

For over two hundred years the so-called “Adimari Wedding Cassone” (*fig. 1*) has been cited as important pictorial evidence in several scholarly fields.¹ For music history it provides a good view of one of the most typical instrumental music groups of the fifteenth century, including what has been considered to be the earliest depiction of a trombone (*fig. 2*). For dance history it records a group dance that is to have taken place in the early fifteenth-century, the time of the earliest surviving dance instruction manuals. And for social history the painting is thought to have graced a wedding chest, recording a moment at the wedding celebration of an aristocratic Florentine family; it is the only scene of its type in which the event and the participants have been identified. A recent close inspection of the painting and facts surrounding its identification, however, reveal that it is not what it is purported to be. The event that is recorded, the date of the painting, certain of the details within the painting, and the purpose of the panel have been incorrectly identified. Many of the errors are the result of misunderstandings that have been passed on since the eighteenth century, while others are quite likely the product of uninformed “restorations” over the centuries.²

The earliest reference to the “Adimari” panel, and the source of many of the persistent errors, is in *L'Osservatore Fiorentino*, written by Marco Lastri and first published in 1777, which was accompanied by an engraving of the painting (*fig. 3*).³ Even without the engraving, the passage gives sufficient detail to confirm that it was indeed this painting that he was describing:

Questa è la pittura antichissima [...] che vien descritta nell' Istoria MS. de' Canonici Fiorentini dal suo chiarissimo Autore il Can. Salvino Salvini in proposito di Boccaccio di Salvestro de' Boccaccini, Consorti degli Adimari, uno de' Canonici del suddetto Capitolo Fiorentino nel 1408. Doppo di aver adunque narrato il suddetto Scrittore, che Boccaccio Adimari rinunziò il Canonicato per isposar la Lisa o Luisa, figliuola fu d'Albertaccio di Mess. Antonio da Ricasoli, ed averci detto che le sue nozze seguirono il dì 22. Giugno del 1420, aggiunge di più, che la pubblica festa di queste Nozze è stata rappresentata al naturale in pittura nel mezzo d'un antica grandiosa spalliera di legno, ornata d'intagli e dorature, ove si dimostra la Piazza e il Tempio di San Giovanni con vari casamenti, e muraglie coi merli intorno ad esse, secondo la struttura di quei tempi, e alcune coppie d'uomo e donna presi per la mano, vestiti d'abito alla civile, guarniti d'oro, e di perle, e di vai, che passeggiano in ordinanza nel mezzo di essa in atto di ballare dentro ad un recinto di panche coperte di arazzi, con altri spettatori in piedi, mentre i Trombetti della Signoria di Firenze sedendo sopra li scalini della Loggia del Bigallo suonano le loro trombe, dalle quali cade il pendone bianco di forma quadrata, entrovi espresso il Giglio

1 The painting is housed in the Galleria dell'Accademia di Belli Arti, in Florence, where it has been since 1826.

2 I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to art historians Sabine Eiche and Rab Hatfield for many of the details of art history in this essay, and for assisting with the technical examination of the “Adimari” panel. I am also grateful for assistance received from Bonnie Bennett, Eve Borsook, Kathryn Bosi, Gordon Moran, and Jerzy Miziolek.

3 Marco Lastri was born in Florence in 1731 and died there in 1811. He was a highly respected ecclesiastic and scholar. The engraving was included only in the first edition.

rosso, Arme della Città nostra. Sotto la Loggia medesima, oggi chiusa e ridotta ad uso di Oratorio, si veggono alcuni fanti con bacili, ed altri vasi, che entrano in una porta delle case contigue degli Adimari, da' quali prende la denominazione tutta quella vicina contrada. La Piazza si vede tutta coperta al di sopra da una lunga tenda di teli rossi e bianchi, che cominciando dalla Loggia predetta, si estende sino al canto della via de' Martelli sostenuta dalli stili, e attaccata alle mura di S. Giovanni. [Lastri 1777: 78–80]⁴

Lastri claims that he is quoting the description written by Salvino Salvini in his catalog of the canons at Santa Maria del Fiore (Florence Cathedral), compiled in 1751, although this seems to be incorrect (Salvini 1782).⁵ Following the above description, Lastri notes the panel's owner (the heirs of Cavaliere Pompeo del Cavaliere Benedetto Comparini);⁶ points out that it teaches us about wedding costumes; remarks on how rich the clothes of women were in 1420, notwithstanding the sumptuary laws; and points out that the painting gives us a fifteenth-century view of a principal part of Florence. Lastri doubts that the figures are dancing; he speculates that perhaps they are in a reception line and that the benches in the foreground were provided for those who were waiting.

Close scrutiny of the painting can begin with the “facts” presented by Lastri, since many of them can be verified by reference to other data. He provides the names of the bridal couple, the location of the scene, the date, the purpose of the painting, and details about the musical ensemble.

Lastri states that the wedding is that of Boccaccio Adimari and Lisa Ricasoli, and that scene takes place in the Piazza del Duomo on 22 June 1420. This can be partially confirmed by observation: the figures in the painting are clearly fifteenth-century people, and because of the presence of the Florentine Baptistery in the background and the Florentine flags on the musical instruments, the setting would appear to be as stated. But these specifics are not fully supported by other historical records. Although there are minor factual differences, the wedding Lastri refers to is undoubtedly that described in the history of the Adimari family written in 1613 by Alessandro di Bernardo Adimari (and published in 1778); a document tracing the family to the first members known to have settled in Florence from Fiesole in approximately the year 1000 (Adimari 1778.) That account records that a family member, confirmed as a cardinal in 1418,

4 “This is the very old picture [...] described in the History of the Florentine canons by Canon Salvino Salvini [...] narrating that Boccaccio Adimari renounced the canonry to marry Lisa or Luisa, daughter of Albertaccio di Ricasoli, and that the wedding followed on 22 June 1420 [...]. The public festival of this wedding was represented “al naturale” in paint in the middle of a huge old wooden wall panel decorated with carving and gilding, in which is shown the Piazza and Temple of San Giovanni with various houses and walls with battlements around them, according to building of those times, and several couples, men and women taking hands, dressed in street clothes, decorated with gold and with pearls and designs, who process in the middle, in the act of dancing inside an enclosure of benches covered with tapestries, with other spectators standing around, while the *trombetti* of the Signoria of Florence, seated on the steps of the Loggia of the Bigallo, play their trumpets, from which hang the square white pennants with the red Giglio, Arms of our city. Under the same loggia, today closed and reduced to an oratory, you see boys with basins and other vessels, who are entering the door of the houses contiguous to the Adimari, from which comes the name of the neighborhood. You see the Piazza completely covered above by a long curtain of red and white material, that begins at the above-mentioned loggia, extends to the corner of Via de' Martelli, suspended on poles and attaches to the wall of S. Giovanni.”

5 Salvini's *Catalogo*, although compiled in 1751 (the year of his death), was not published until 1782, five years after Lastri's account. Lastri, therefore, must have known Salvini's work in manuscript form, which in fact he admits. But the quote concerning the Adimari wedding and its painting does not appear in the published version of Salvini's *Catalogo*. It is possible that the information Lastri copied was present in the manuscript but omitted from the printed copy, although this is not likely; the *Catalogo* does not include anecdotal accounts of the type related by Lastri. Lastri has probably erred in identifying the source of his quote.

6 According to Marcucci 1961: 8, it then passed to the brothers Lino and Ottaviano Salvetti, and was sold to the Government of Tuscany on 19 May 1826 for the sum of 50 zecchini, and given to the Galleria of the Accademia.



1. Giovanni di Ser Giovanni (?), "Adimari Wedding Cassone". – Photo: Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia di Belli Arti



2. "Adimari Wedding Cassone", Detail. – Photo: Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia di Belli Arti



Festa Nuziale di Boccaccio di Silvestro Adimari colla Luisa d' Albertaccio da Ricasoli, presa da una pittura in legno, in casa dell' Ill.^{mo} Sig.^o Cav. Pompeo Comparini.

3. From M. Lastrì, *L'Osservatore Fiorentino*. – Photo: author



4. The Oratory of Santa Maria del Bigallo as it looks today. – Photo: author

returned to Florence in 1419, and that his brother, Salvestro di Filippo Adimari, renounced his position as canon and took as his wife Madonna Isa Ricasoli Baroni:

[1418] il quale confermò nel Cardinalato il nostro Mess. Alamanno, e seco lo condusse a Firenze l'anno 1419. Nel qual tempo Salvestro di Mess. Filippo Adimari suo fratello rinunziò un Canonicato, e prese per moglie Madonna Isa Ricasoli Baroni, nella quale occasione si fecero grandi, e sontuose nozze, secondo scrivono alcuni, con belli apparati, e tende sulla piazza di S. Giovanni. [Adimari 1778: 249]⁷

In identifying the location of the scene itself Lastri has reason to feel secure in his description: in addition to the distinctive marble patterns that resemble those of the Florentine Baptistry, he would also have been aware that the Adimari palace was located on the street adjoining the Piazza del Duomo. He notes that the building on the left behind the musicians is the Bigallo, with its open loggia “today closed and reduced to an oratory” (*fig. 4*), but on that last point he is not correct. The loggia of the Bigallo was never open; Lastri was the unknowing victim of errors made by historians of his own time. The 1966 flood in Florence occasioned an extensive archaeological investigation and restoration of the Bigallo that proved that those two arches were never open bays, but had always been closed since their construction (between 1352–58).⁸ In the mid-eighteenth century there had been a restoration of the building and, as faithfully reported in Lastri’s account of 1777, the restorers erroneously reported a conclusion that the other two bays had been originally open to create a three-bay loggia, just as it is seen in the “Adimari” panel.⁹

Lastri also seems to be taking as further evidence of historical correctness the presence of the city walls and portal in the background of the painting, but once again he is in error. The last walls of Florence were mostly destroyed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, leaving on the north side of the Arno only some of the original portals. But had the walls been left standing, they would not be visible in any direction from the Piazza del Duomo nor would they have been in the fifteenth century. Earlier walls dating back to the twelfth century had existed much closer to the Duomo, but in the thirteenth century they were torn down and newly constructed farther out on the periphery of the growing city. In the eighteenth century, however, the Florentines began to make maps of their archaeological discoveries of massive foundations, and assumed to have found the original foundations of the old city gates within sight of the Duomo, similar to their depiction in the “Adimari” panel.¹⁰ What they actually found may well have been the remnants of the twelfth-century walls, which by the fifteenth century had long been removed. Another eighteenth-century archaeological error, therefore, had given Lastri false confidence in his judgement about the intentions of the painter vis-à-vis the setting of the activities in the panel.

Perhaps if Lastri had not been misled by these two historical errors of his own time he would have looked a bit more closely at the painting and noticed other variants from an exact representation of the Piazza del Duomo. Although the white and green marble patterns remind the viewer of the Florence Baptistry, that structure is not accurately represented either in relative

7 “At which time our Mess. Alamanno was confirmed as Cardinal, and moved to Florence in 1419. At that time his brother Salvestro di Mess. Filippo Adimari renounced his Canonicate and married Madonna Isa Ricasoli Baroni, on which occasion were made great wedding festivities according to some writings, with beautiful decorations and awnings on the Piazza of S. Giovanni.” The Piazza del Duomo, as it is now called, was known by several names, including “Piazza di S. Giovanni”.

8 Saalman 1969. He includes two representations of the Bigallo with its loggie closed: a fourteenth-century fresco located in the Bigallo, and a manuscript drawing from *ca.* 1442.

9 The eighteenth-century view of the history of the Bigallo is found in Landini 1779: xiv.

10 The misunderstandings are described in Carocci 1913. On the fourteenth-century enlargement of the enclosed city, see Friedman 1978.

size or in the actual patterns of the marble; it is a fantasy on the Baptistry. Further, the building on the left does not represent the Gothic Loggia del Bigallo with its loggia open: it is a completely different building with a Renaissance loggia. And finally, there has never been a fountain in the centre of the Piazza del Duomo.¹¹ The artist, therefore, was not striving to depict an existing location; his intention must have been only to suggest Florence in general. He has tied his painting to Florence by including a building generally resembling the Florence Baptistry and by placing the emblem of Florence on the musical instruments, but the other buildings, the wall, the fountain, and the background scene are clearly flights of fantasy and probably were intended to keep the viewer from connecting the scene with a specific place.

This interpretation of the painter's intention would explain the problem of the identification of the coat of arms on the blanket over the benches in the foreground and the colours of the awning: they have no connection with either the Adimari or the Ricasoli family emblems. In fact, a study of numerous collections of heraldic emblems from the fifteenth century has not revealed a single match — not a surprising result in view of the above assessment of the painter's intention.¹² Without the identification of the specific location or the correct colours and heraldic emblem, all connections cease between the scene in the painting and any Adimari occasion. This would explain why there is no mention of the panel in the 1613 family history written by Alessandro Adimari, in which is found the earliest account of the 1419 wedding as well as descriptions of all other important events in the lives of the Adimari family up to the date of writing.

Lastri's date for the Adimari-Ricasoli wedding is no longer accepted as the date of the painting; in recent decades art historians have rejected it on stylistic grounds. The costumes, poses, the portrayal of human anatomy, and the use of one-point perspective, all suggest a date not earlier than 1440, and possibly as late as 1465, and recently the work has been provisionally credited to Giovanni di Ser Giovanni, known as *lo Scheggia*, brother of Masaccio.¹³ Evidence from the portrayal of the musical group, discussed below, supports this later dating.

The remaining piece of inherited belief to examine about this panel is its identification as a wedding *cassone* panel, and it is therefore important to note what was meant by "wedding" in the fifteenth century, and the place of the *cassoni* — wedding chests — in the ceremony.¹⁴ Weddings or marriages in the late Middle Ages could take several years before satisfying the demands of the *Comune* for a legal contract in which the goods and the bride exchanged hands, and before meeting the requirements of the Church for a ceremony. A marriage began with a series of negotiations over relationships between the families and the terms for the dowry to be paid. This concluded with a ratification of the marriage contract between the groom and the bride's father in the presence of a notary; as a formal contract this usually took place in a church. A separate ceremony was then held, again in the church, in which the prospective bride

11 On the subject of fountains and their symbolism, see Watson 1979.

12 The emblem consists of alternating horizontal stripes of white and burgundy, accompanied by heads of women alongside the emblem. Not only are the two heads different from one another, but there are different heads on each repeat of the emblem pattern. No emblems were found with alternating horizontal stripes of these colours, nor were any emblems found with accompanying womens' heads.

13 Giovanni di Ser Giovanni worked in Florence and died there in 1486. Luciano Bellosi identifies him as painter of the "Adimari" panel, in Bellosi 1969: 56. Maria Sframeli agrees with Bellosi's identification of painter and assigns the dates 1440–45, in Berti 1990: 238–39. Marcucci 1961: 14, suggests the dates 1450–55. It should also be noted that Schubring 1915/23 was uncomfortable with the early date and proposed *ca.* 1450. The Museo dell'Accademia has recently revised its identification of the painting to incorporate the later dating.

14 Details of the *cassone* tradition are taken from Callmann 1974; Schubring 1915/23: vol. 1; and Lydecker 1987. Information about weddings here and below taken from Witthoft 1982; Klapisch-Zuber 1985; and Lydecker 1987: ch. 3.

and groom promised to marry; at this point they were publicly betrothed and their legal status changed to *sposo* and *sposa*. Once this had occurred, courtship began and the groom brought presents to the bride's house, including wedding *cassoni* (usually two), bedroom furniture and, in some cases, wedding finery. The usual amount of time that elapsed between the betrothal and consummation of the marriage was three to six months (although in some cases it could be as much as several years), allowing time for various arrangements to be completed, among them the painting of the wedding *cassone*.

The actual marriage began with the giving of the ring in the house of the bride's father, and the exchange of vows. Usually this ceremony was followed by a banquet and sometimes by a church Mass. The marriage was then consummated either in the house of the bride's father, or more often, in the groom's house following an elaborate procession from one house to the other. This procession was the most public part of the wedding, during which the bride and her possessions passed to the groom, completing the link between the two families. To begin the procession, the groom's relatives went as a group to the bride's house and led her to her new home accompanied by the female members of her family and led by a few musicians. On the route the party encountered a symbolic barrier of a garland or ribbon, and the bride paid a tribute, usually a ring, in order that the procession be allowed to pass. There must have been a certain amount of public jeering, since the Statutes of 1415 forbade the public to throw stones or filth at the party (*Statuti Populi* II, rubric 167). This display of wealth and power, including the *cassone* filled with wedding gifts, ended with an elaborate banquet at the groom's house.

Excursus. The celebrations on such occasions were often quite elaborate, and events surrounding the weddings of some prominent fifteenth-century Florentines have been recorded. For the 1466 wedding between Bernardo Rucellai and Nannina de' Medici a huge awning covered the street in front of the Palazzo Rucellai, under which was served a banquet of 20 dishes to guests numbering 200 at the head table plus another 300 invited guests (Marcotti 1960: 28-32). It is interesting to note that in kind and number of gifts, as well as in length and nature of the banquet, that wedding violated all known sumptuary laws (Witthoft 1982: 49-50).¹⁵ The same seems to have been true for the wedding in 1433 of Francesco di Giuliano de' Medici, second cousin of Cosimo, to Costanza Guicciardini. Francesco, in his *ricordi*, mentions multiple feasts and processions of ladies for the betrothal, and then on June 13, 1433, a festa "with *pifferi* and *trombetti* as is the custom" which included dancing and jousting, all taking place at his palace.¹⁶ Similar lavish events including feasts, dancing, and entertainments are reported in reference to the 1469 wedding of Lorenzo de' Medici and Clarice Orsini (Bonamici 1870), again confirming that such ceremonies were carried on in accordance with a tradition of long standing.

The wedding *cassone* and their decorations were also part of the Florentine tradition. Early examples from the fourteenth century were decorated very simply, with a painting of a couple or with flowers or foliage motifs. In the early fifteenth century amorous or bawdy scenes became the norm, often drawing on the *novelle* of Boccaccio. But by the second half of the fifteenth century the tradition changed and the extant *cassone* panels from that time have subjects that are classical in inspiration and often show seemingly odd themes for a wedding chest — jousts or battles, the Triumph of Caesar, scenes from the *Odyssey* or *Aeneid*, Darius setting out for battle, Old Testament scenes such as the story of Esther, and allegorical narratives. These subjects become less strange when one realizes that marriage among upper-class Florentines meant alliance and money, and a wedding meant an opportunity to display wealth and social station.

¹⁵ Sumptuary laws were a part of the civic statutes; see *Statuti Populi*.

¹⁶ Florence, Archivio di Stato, MAP, Filza 148, no. 32.

Such erudite themes reflected the education and taste of the groom. And because sumptuary laws limited a display of wedding gifts, which then had to be carried in a closed *cassone*, the chest itself became even more elaborately painted and ornamented with gilded stucco. These chests, beginning as symbols of marriage, became part of the useful furniture of the house, and from fifteenth-century inventories we know they were placed in the couple's bedchamber.

As can be seen in numerous securely identified wedding *cassone* paintings, there is either a single classical scene or a pair of scenes with one classical and the other contemporary. Often the connection between the ancient and modern events is brought out in that the figures in the classical scenes are dressed in contemporary Italian style; the setting is generically fifteenth-century Florentine; and the presence of dancers, musicians, and a display of wealth recalls the Florentine custom in the context of a classical narrative.¹⁷ Against this tradition of classical scenes the "Adimari" panel stands almost alone in its absence of a more erudite allusion to marriage either through well-known love stories or classical references to triumph and the transfer of wealth. In such an important and symbolic tradition, to have an example so devoid of the customary format is unusual and suggests that more attention must be paid to the details of the "Adimari" panel in order to understand how it could stand apart from the tradition.

To begin with, the actual size and make-up of the "Adimari" painting gives reason to question its intended use. A panel intended for a typical wedding *cassone* measured approximately 40x135 cm. In contrast, the "Adimari" panel is approximately 63x280 cm — nearly double the usual measurements. We must notice that the designation "wedding *cassone*" is a more recent description of the work; Lastri actually calls it a *spalliera*, although that possibility too has problems. A *spalliera* was a painted panel attached to a wall at eye- or shoulder-level and often contained a single, contemporary scene. *Spalliere* served as room furnishings and could be larger than a *cassone* painting, but a recent study of *spalliere* indicates that they were not usually this shape, and typically were decorated with outdoor scenes in such a way that they functioned almost as windows.¹⁸ We can be fairly sure, therefore, that the panel was not intended to be a wedding *cassone* decoration, and possibly not a *spalliera* in the usual sense. There is little evidence of what function it was intended to perform, and further discussion of that topic must await investigation by art historians.

Up to this point evidence has been presented to seriously question most of the inherited beliefs about the "Adimari Wedding Cassone", separating the painting from its traditional identification: it was not intended as a wedding *cassone*; it alludes only very generally to Florence but not to a specific location; its date of painting was several decades removed from the occasion it has been thought to represent; it has very little reason to be associated with the Adimari or any other specific Florentine family. Further, there is only minimal reason to connect the scene with a wedding. Nothing in the panel indicates who might be the married couple, a fairly obvious feature in other depictions of wedding feasts, such as in *figure 5*.¹⁹ The single connection with traditional marriage scenes is the presence of large trays or urns on the left side of the panel. In other wedding scenes these items can be seen displayed in full view, as in *figure 5*; they indicate that a banquet will take place and they also serve as symbols of wealth. In the "Adimari" panel, however, these furnishings are in the last stages of being removed — a unique portrayal if a wedding feast is intended.

17 As, for example, in *figure 5*. For additional examples, see Callmann 1974.

18 Callmann 1988. In private correspondence Dr. Callmann has confirmed that the "Adimari" panel is too large to have been on a *cassone*. For additional information on *spalliere*, see Lydecker 1987: ch. 43–5.

19 Appolonio di Giovanni (1415/17–65), "Generosity of Scipio", 1465, *Cassone* painting 1450–65, 43.5x134 cm, oil on wood. Victoria and Albert Museum. On Appolonio and his painting, see Callmann 1974.



5. Apollonio di Giovanni, "Generosity of Scipio". – Photo: London, Victoria and Albert Museum

What, then, does the "Adimari" painting represent? It is definitely a festive occasion in Florence during the mid- to late-fifteenth century, in which a dance would be appropriately accompanied by the civic *pifferi*, and one that was probably preceded by a banquet. The literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries often mentions music and dancing following banquets,²⁰ and so the panel does not depict anything unusual; it could serve as a general reference to scenes of the festivities enjoyed by the aristocratic citizens of Florence. The dance, too, does not suggest anything special: five couples are depicted, engaged in a procession-type dance, a group and type not pictured in any other Italian wedding scenes. In fifteenth-century Italy it was the custom for wealthy patrons to engage the services of dancing masters on the most extraordinary celebratory occasions. These professionals would invent highly detailed dance programmes with individual choreographies to be danced by the patrons, thus adding an additional element to the show of personal wealth, power and social position of the families involved.²¹ One could imagine, therefore, that a dance scene depicting a wedding or some other particular occasion would allude to the privately sponsored choreographies, rather than to an unchoreographed processional dance which does not suggest the same level of opulence or social stature.²²

The musicians in the panel also can provide some information about the possible type of celebration and the approximate date of the painting, although first we must accurately identify the group. Lastri identifies them as the civic *trombetti*, but he is mistaken. The instruments played by the seated musicians are the gold colour presently associated with brass instruments, but this was not the colour of the trumpets of the fifteenth century, and none of the musicians in the painting is playing a trumpet. The instrument most easily recognized is that played by the musician on the left side of the group, which at first glance appears to be a trombone (see figure 2). The three musicians sitting next to him, however, are holding their instruments with hand positions that indicate that they are playing not trumpets — which would be incorrect for this ensemble — but shawms, the double-reed instruments of the civic *pifferi* that in the late fifteenth century performed with the trombone. And in spite of Lastri's misidentification, a close look at those instruments makes it clear that they are indeed shawms: they have a series of holes for the

20 For references to literary citations of dancing following meals, see McGee 1989: 19–22.

21 For a discussion of the relationship between some dancing masters and Lorenzo de' Medici, see McGee 1988.

22 For a discussion of the dancing masters and their duties, see Sparti 1993: especially chapter 3. Additional material on the career of Guglielmo Ebreo/Giovanni Ambrosio can be found in Gallo 1983.

fingers along the upper surface, and a shawm reed is accurately depicted on the instrument held by the player in the middle who is resting. Further, that one performer is shown to be resting while the others play is a common feature in the iconographic depiction of groups of shawm players, but not of trumpeters.²³ There are some minor variances between the painting and the woodwind instruments that would actually have been played by the *pifferi*: they are painted much lighter in colour than would be correct — they should be dark brown — and all three of them are sopranos. The colour problem could possibly have been the result of a later restoration, but that would not explain the problem of size. The civic records indicate that at least one larger shawm, called *bombarda*, would have been with the ensemble in order to play below the pitch of the soprano.²⁴ The shapes of these instruments, however, are accurately drawn.

It would have been contrary to tradition for trumpets to play for dancing during the fifteenth century. In the late Middle Ages the city of Florence employed three different instrumental ensembles consisting, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, of one group of six *trombadori* (large trumpets), with one *nacherino* (drums), and one *cemmamellaro* (reed instrument).²⁵ A second group consisted of seven *trombetti* (small trumpets), and the third group was the civic *pifferi* — until mid-century, all shawms.²⁶ Each ensemble had its own functions, and there is no evidence that any ensemble ever played for an event that was traditionally the duty of another.²⁷ The civic records affirm that from the beginning to the end of the fifteenth century the musical ensembles were frequently requested to perform at various public and private occasions, but when the event included dancing the request was invariably for the *pifferi*.

The issue of which instruments were intended by the painter, however, is confused by the presence of banners — the evidence that these are indeed the civic musicians of Florence. The privileges and duties of the various civic musical groups, including the identifying insignias, were set down in the Civic Statutes which were amended and revised over the years. In the Statutes of 1415, Rubric 40 specifies the duties and obligations of the *pifferi*:

Rubrica XL. Quod domini possint eligere pifferos, & trombettinos, & de eorum numero, & salario, & observantiis.

Possint praefati domini, & vexillifer quolibet anno eligere, & deputare tres pifferos, & septem trombettinos bonos, idoneos, & sufficientes [...] & haveant duas robbas pro quolibet in anno [...] Qui sonatores, & trombetti pro dicto salario debeant retinere, & portare, & habere ad pectus smaltum, secundum ordinamenta communis florentiae quilibet ipsorum argenteum, cum lilio rubeo, & tubam argenteam eorum propriis expensis.²⁸

23 It is interesting to note that in Lastri's engraving (fig. 3), as opposed to the painting, there are only three seated musicians rather than four, probably a result of the small scale of the engraving, and that the instruments and their playing positions are closer representations of trumpets and trumpet players, quite possibly the engraver attempting to represent the written description as well as copy the painting.

24 For example, on 20 January 1444, Georgius Johannes de Alamania was elected a member of the *pifferi* "in sonitorem perfate [...] quod vulgareter dictus la bombardia." ASF, Provvisioni Registri 134, fol. 191v.

25 It is not clear exactly what the instrument called the *cemmemallario* was. On some occasions this word, or a similar one, is used to mean a reed pipe, and is identified as such in Vocabolario: vol. 4, 800. Battaglia 1961: vol. 2, 955–6, 963, however, identifies the instrument as cymbals or a single drum. In some accounts the performer of the *cemmemallario* is called "della sveglia". During the fifteenth century a clear distinction was made between the instruments played by the *pifferi* and that played by the lone *cemmemallario* who performed with the *trombadori*, but there is little to confirm exactly what the difference was.

26 For further on this subject, see Polk 1986.

27 The only occasions on which all of the ensembles played at the same time were large festivities and processions. Even then, however, they played as complete and separate ensembles.

28 Rubric 40. "That the lords are to elect *pifferi*, players of little trumpets, and their number, salaries, and duties.

The aforementioned lords and the Standard Bearer of Justice are to elect and appoint every year three shawm

According to the Statutes, therefore, the *pifferi* are required to wear enamel emblems on their chests: they are *not* directed to carry banners. And in fact that is quite reasonable since not only would it be very difficult to put such a banner on a shawm, but also doing so would make it difficult to play. But although the *trombetti* could easily have carried banners on their instruments, they too wore emblems. The privilege of carrying banners was reserved for the other civic musical ensemble, the *trombadori*, as stated in Rubric 41 from the same statutes:

Rubrica XLI. Quod domini possint eligere tubatores naccharinum, et cemmamellarium.

Praefati domini, & vexillifer quolibet anno possint, & teneantur eligere sex tubatores, qui sint boni viri, & in arte experti, & unum naccharinum, & unum cemmamellarium, qui sciant bene dicta ministeria exercere [...] & habere debeant duo paria vestimentorum pro quolibet eorum quolibet anno [...] Et dictos pannos portare debeant cum lilio communis posito, & applicato super ipsis pannis exterius ex parte anteriori, & debeant habere pennoncellos ad tubas, naccharos, & cemmamellas expensis communis.²⁹

The “Adimari” painter, therefore, has confused the representation of the Florentine *pifferi* by placing on their instruments the banners that were reserved for the *trombadori*, and by giving them a light gold colour suggesting that they are made of brass, whereas shawms were always made of dark wood. I know of no other representation of musical instruments in European paintings of the period in which these kinds of error have been made. The civic musicians were highly visible ensembles in all cities during the late Middle Ages, performing in public many times each week, and their composition and appearance would have been very well known. In all other depictions of *pifferi* from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the instruments are dark in colour and there are no banners (see *figs. 6 and 9*).³⁰ When banners *are* found in paintings of the period they are unfailingly on trumpets.³¹ The incorrect colour probably was added during a restoration, since a confusion of instruments would have caused the original painter to colour them all silver — there were no gold-coloured instruments. I can explain the banner error only by suggesting that it may have been one more element to remind the viewer that only fantasy was intended.³²

The “trombone” depicted in the painting presents a more important problem, involving both the invention of what is commonly thought of as a “trombone” and the date of the painting. The first mention of the civic *pifferi* in Florence in 1386, confirms that all members were reed

players and seven players of small trumpets [...] They are to have two costumes a year for each of them [...] For their salary the musicians and trumpet players must possess and carry an enamel emblem on their chests, according to the ordinances of the commune of Florence, each of them made of silver, with a red lily, and [the trumpet players must play] a silver trumpet [purchased] at their own expense.” (*Statuti*, 1778–83, vol. II, p. 541–4).

29 Rubric 41. “That the lords are to elect players of trumpets, drums and cymbals.

The aforementioned lords and the Standard Bearer of Justice every year are to be bound to choose six players of large trumpets who are good men and skilled in the trade, and one drummer and one reed player who are to know well how to play their instruments [...] They are to have two changes of clothing per year [...] They must wear the banner with the lily of the commune placed on it, and they must carry small banners on their trumpets, drums and reed instrument [purchased] at the expense of the commune.” (*Statuti*, vol. II, 544–5).

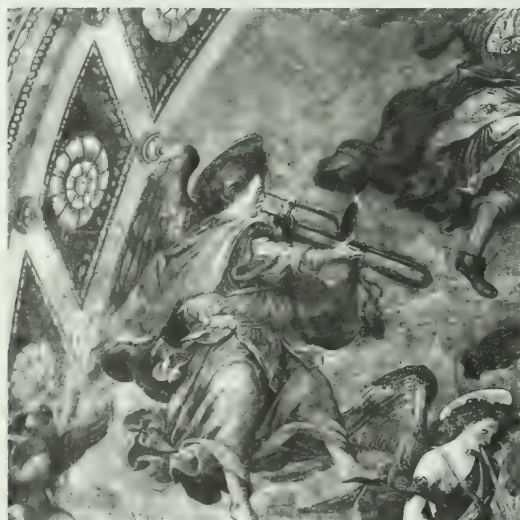
30 Figure 9 is Hans Memling (1430–94), “Angel Musicians,” ca. 1480, 165.1 x 231.14 cm, oil on wood, (originally one wing of the “Najera Trystych” decorating the organ case at the church of Santa Maria la Real at Najera in Castile), Antwerp, Museum of fine Art. See Winternitz 1963.

31 In answer to my inquiry, Edmund Bowles has confirmed that, although he has seen numerous depictions of banners on buisines/trumpets, he has not found any banners on shawms (private correspondence, 28 November 1989). I am grateful to Prof. Bowles for the corroboration. Not all trumpets are represented with banners: only official representatives of a city or household would carry them.

32 This is not a very strong reason, but I can think of no other purpose for misrepresenting the instrument’s appearance. At one point I suspected that the banners, too, could have been added by an early restorer, but a close inspection of the painting shows that their outlines are incised, suggesting that they probably were original.



6. "Generosity of Scipio", Detail. – Photo: London, Victoria and Albert Museum



7. Filippino Lippi, detail from "The Assumption of the Virgin". Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva. – Photo: Alinari

8. Taddeo Crivelli, detail from "La corte di Salomone". Modena, Biblioteca Estense. – Photo: Library



9. Hans Memling, "Angel Musicians". Antwerp, Museum of Fine Art. – Photo: A.C.L. Brussels

players, and that their number was three.³³ This group remained fairly stable until the appointment of a mouthpiece instrument player in 1443. From that date until the turn of the sixteenth century the maximum number of *pifferi* was four: three shawms and a mouthpiece instrument (later, a trombone). There is no mention of any instrument that could have been a trombone in Florence prior to 1443 when the civic Statutes are amended to add a player of the 'tube tortuose' to the *pifferi*.³⁴ The use of the word "trombone" is first found in the records of 1446–48, naming Georgius Arigi di Spugha as player of "trombone grosso cum tromba roto",³⁵ and in 1452 the instrument played by Johannes de Johannes was named as the "trombone tuba ritorte".³⁶

33 The earliest official recognition of the *pifferi* as a separate group is in ASF, Provvisioni Registri, 75, fol. 142v–143r, 22 October 1386, when Franceschinus Alexandro, player of the *bombarde*, Felice Simonis de Florentia, player of the *cornette*, and Nannes Massi de Sexto, player of the *cornamuse*, are elected as the civic *pifferi*. Later references indicate that all three played the shawm. The different names possibly referred to the size of the instrument or their role in the ensemble.

34 ASF, Provvisioni Registri no. 134, fol. 97v, 27 August 1443. The first person assigned to this post was Johannes Johannes de Colonia, Provvisioni Registri no. 136, fol. 209r, 1445.

35 ASF, Camera del Comune Uscita Generale no. 4, fol. 52, 1446–48. This may be an erroneous entry since the name of Georgius never appears again in the records, whereas Johannes Johannes is listed as a member of the *pifferi* in all other documents from this time. The scribe simply may have confused the names of two German musicians in the employ of the commune: Georgius Johannes de Alamania, listed two years earlier as player of the *bombarda* (see footnote 24), and Johannes Johannes de Colonia, player of the "tube tortuose". On German musicians in Florence, see Polk 1986.

36 ASF, Camera del Comune, Uscita Generale no. 6, 1451–2.

Although the documents verify the presence of a “trombone” in Florence by mid-fifteenth century — establishing the earliest possible date for the painting — other evidence would suggest that the instrument referred to probably was not the double-slide instrument that we would call a trombone today. It is not presently known when the trombone with a double slide originated, and the instrument in the “Adimari” panel has often been cited — erroneously — as the first depiction. That form of the instrument is not unequivocally found in a pictorial representation until the 1490 fresco by Filippino Lippi (see *fig. 7*).³⁷ The instruments of this type depicted prior to the Lippi fresco typically have a single slide in either the “S” shape or the “folded form”, and are usually referred to in modern scholarship as a ‘slide trumpet,’ such as the instruments seen in *figures 8 and 9*.³⁸ The slide trumpet had been known from as early as the late fourteenth century, with some examples still found in paintings of the early sixteenth century, and it is probable that that is the instrument in the “Adimari” panel.³⁹ When the double slide was developed — sometime in the mid- to late-fifteenth century — it was a definite improvement over the early single-slide instrument: it allowed a more substantial amount of the instrument to remain immobile, thus providing more stability when playing; and it improved the technique by requiring the slide to travel only half the distance to accomplish the same change of pitch. These two improvements increased both accuracy and speed.

The most commonly found visual differences between the shapes of the double-slide trombone versus that of the slide trumpet involve the placement of the bell in relation to the slide, and the presence or absence of tubing alongside the head of the player. In a fully developed double-slide trombone the bell does not extend as far forward as the end of the slide, and the tubing extends back over the player’s shoulder and along the side of the head, as seen in the Lippi fresco (*fig. 7*). In contrast, in most pictures of the slide trumpet the entire instrument extends forward of the mouth of the musician, with the bell at the farthest point, as in *figures 8 and 9*. It is for this reason that the shape of the instrument in the “Adimari” panel presents a problem: it has elements of both shapes. The tubing extends alongside the head of the performer, while the bell extends forward beyond the remainder of the tubing. Clearly, however, the instrument does not have the correct tube formation or bracing that would allow a double slide, and as Keith Polk observed, the hand position appears to be awkward for playing a trombone (Polk 1989: 395).

The “Adimari” instrument could possibly be a slide trumpet in a unique shape, or some of its unusual appearance may be the result of alterations made during an early restoration.⁴⁰ On close inspection several unusual details can be observed: the tubes near the player’s right hand bend noticeably inward and have a smaller diameter than the remainder of the tubing (marked “a” on *fig. 10*),⁴¹ and the bell is oddly formed — types of inaccuracy not found elsewhere in the

37 Filippino Lippi (1460–1505), detail “The Assumption of the Virgin”, fresco *ca.* 1490. Rome, Cappella di S. Tommaso d’Aquino, church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. On Lippi, see Berti 1991. Baines 1976: 107–8 raises serious questions about the instrument in the “Adimari” panel. In Baines 1980: 166, the Lippi fresco is referred to as “the first reliable depiction of the instrument”. On the history of the change from trumpet to trombone, see Höfler 1979; Polk 1986: 59–60, 1989: 395, and 1992: 56–70.

38 Figure 8 is Taddeo Crivelli (d. 1476), detail from “La corte di Salomone,” miniature *ca.* 1455–65, in the Bibbia di Borso d’Este, MS V.G.12, fol. 280v, Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. On Crivelli and the Bibbia, see Bertoni 1925.

39 On the existence of the slide trumpet, see the controversy following Downey 1984, in the responses of Duffin 1989, Myers 1989, and Polk 1989.

40 There is the possibility that the artist was engaging in fantasy when designing this instrument, but I have rejected that because of the amount of accurate detail found in the shapes of the shawms.

41 I am grateful to Ayako Yamasaki for drawing *figures 10, 11, and 12* for this essay.



10. Musician in “Adimari Wedding Cassone” (see fig. 2). – Drawing by Ayako Yamasaki
 11. Typical 15th-century slide trumpet shape. – Drawing by Ayako Yamasaki after Höfler 1979
 12. Musician in 1777 engraving. (see fig. 2). – Drawing by Ayako Yamasaki

painting. Portions of the instrument are in gold leaf and portions are in gold paint, and the entire instrument is outlined in black — a treatment unique in the painting to this single figure. The panel was most recently restored in 1992, and it is precisely the area marked “a” in *figure 8* that was restored, but if any changes were made in this section of the painting, they were made at a much earlier date. The restorer, Luisella Pennucci, described to me her recent restoration of the instrument as simply filling in between two points of the tubing with gold paint to compensate for missing gold leaf. The outlines of the missing colour were clearly established and she did not alter the existing shapes of the tubes.⁴² Her inspection of the painting in my presence with an ultra-violet light revealed that the gold leaf, still existing on the bell and on both the upper and lower curved sections of the tubing, has not been altered since it was first placed on the panel. What could not be ascertained was whether the gold leaf — and therefore the present shape of the instrument — was part of the original painting. It was clear to the restorer that the existing gold leaf on the instrument was several centuries old, but it is not possible to know if it had been added during an early restoration.

The reason to question the gold leaf is that it is the wrong colour for the instrument; as established above, mouthpiece instruments were silver. Elsewhere on the “Adimari” painting there is evidence that the artist used silver leaf which has oxidized, turned black, and in some cases fallen off the painting, as can be seen in the now black garment worn by the woman seated in front of the “baptistry” and in the capes worn by several of the dancers. Had this been the material used for the musical instrument in question, an early restorer may have been faced with recreating an instrument that was almost entirely missing or lacking most details, as for example in *figure 6*, where an instrument that is most likely a slide trumpet (and therefore probably originally painted in silver leaf) can be seen in the company of shawms.

42 I am grateful to Signora Pennucci for her generosity in sharing her time and expertise with me.

Even if the gold leaf was added by a restorer, however, we cannot be sure that the original outline of the instrument was altered (although the bent tubes and badly shaped bell suggest that something is amiss). Even though the present shape of the “Adimari” instrument is unusual, it definitely is a possible slide trumpet shape. On the other hand, since the painter most likely had originally painted a silver instrument, one might speculate as to what other alterations might have been made by a restorer.⁴³ A shape that would be more consistent with the known shapes of slide trumpets from the middle of the fifteenth century, as carefully discussed and illustrated in Höfler 1979, is that represented by my hypothetical *figure 11*. Had this been the original shape, the elongation of the upper section of the tubing alongside the head of the musician must have been added at a later date by a restorer.

Another possible clue to the original shape of the instrument is the 1777 engraving, in which the instrument does extend along the side of the performer’s head, but the tube shapes and hand positions suggest a slide trumpet in a shape slightly different from that in the “Adimari” panel, (see *fig. 3* and my enlargement of that instrument in *fig. 12*). There is some problem with this evidence in that the size of the work did not allow the engraver to work on close details and there is other evidence that he strayed from an exact copy of the panel (for example, in the number of shawm players). But by 1777 the actual shape of a double-slide trombone was well known whereas that of a slide trumpet was not, and yet the engraver has clearly drawn a slide trumpet in a shape that is similar in many ways to that presently found in the panel.

It would seem likely, therefore, that the instrument originally intended in the “Adimari” panel was a slide trumpet in some form. If not in the present shape, it could possibly have been similar to those shown in *figures 11* or *12*. Any of these shapes would be accurately described by the names “tuba ritorte” and “tromba roto”. At the same time it is also clear that by the end of the century a double-slide instrument was being played in the Florentine *pifferi*,⁴⁴ but since we do not have firm evidence for the date of the invention of the double-slide mechanism, there would seem to be no clear method of determining when the change from single to double slide took place. In any case, in the light of what has preceded here, we will have to agree with Baines (1980), that the Filippino Lippi fresco of 1490 (*fig. 7*) is the earliest reliable depiction of the instrument we would call a trombone.

As a final assessment, let me present a more exact description of the “Adimari” panel and speculate as to what it represents: The painting was done between the years 1443 and 1465,⁴⁵ possibly by Giovanni di Ser Giovanni. It is probable that no specific occasion or reference is intended, and it is doubtful that the painter had any knowledge of the Adimari-Ricasoli wedding description that in the eighteenth century became identified with it. This is a portrayal of a typical festive occasion attended by aristocratic Florentines; an event that would have involved a lavish banquet followed by general dancing and accompanied by the civic *pifferi*. The presence of the *pifferi* does indicate that the sponsors of the event were from a high level of Florentine society since the civic ensemble was only occasionally allowed to perform for private events, and then only for the most prominent citizens.⁴⁶ The dancers are performing a generic “processional”

43 I emphasize here that, although Signora Pennucci could determine that the painting had been restored many times in the past, there is no evidence that the shape of this instrument has been altered. My speculations here are based solely on what appear to me to be distortions in the lower tubing and bell, which suggest that the instrument shape has been tampered with.

44 The noted German trombonist Augustine Schubinger was employed by Florence from 1489. See Polk 1986: 59, and Polk 1992: 77.

45 This is a combination of the earliest date a mouthpiece instrument is recorded as a part of the Florentine *pifferi*, and the date art historians agree on as the latest date likely for this style of representation.

46 In a typical year there would be no more than three such permissions given.

dance (rather than one that was specifically choreographed),⁴⁷ while the musical group, consisting of three shawms and a slide trumpet, extemporize counterpoint against a tenor.⁴⁸

This is undoubtedly what the painter intended to portray, and when stripped of erroneous identification and the problems caused by restorers, the panel is a fairly good representation of that intention. Close examination of the panel indicates that the present frame is a part of the original construction, and therefore suggests that the work was intended to function as it now appears: as an independent framed painting. By this I mean that it was not a portion of a larger work nor was it detached from a more permanent location, although it may have functioned as one of a set of *spalliere* or similar type of room decoration. It would have been commissioned to grace the wall of a minor nobleman's *salone* — the panel's size would suggest that it would have been located in a rather large room — as a comforting reminder of the lavish living style and privilege of the upper class. (I am speculating that the owner was a *minor* noble because the members of the highest echelon of society would have had depictions of actual events in their lives, including specific identifiers such as the family crest, rather than this fantasy that intentionally avoids that type of identification.) The painting undoubtedly remained in private hands until it was turned over to the Galleria dell'Accademia in 1826; nothing is known of it or its history until it was misidentified in Lastri's account of 1777.

In addition to its value as art, the “Adimari” painting also can be useful as an historical reference to a particular type of Florentine aristocratic festivity in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. But as has been pointed out above, although it is generally correct, the modern viewer must not look too closely for accuracy in small details. In addition to certain “flights of fancy” that were probably intended by the painter to make the work general rather than specific, there are several small and perhaps unintentional inaccuracies as noted above.

The confusion that the “Adimari” panel has caused in the past illustrates how wary we modern scholars must be in our use of pictorial evidence. In this case the problems were caused both by well-meaning but misinformed historians of the eighteenth century, and by one or more art restorers. The “Adimari” panel, however, does not stand alone as susceptible to these types of problems: it is just a good example of how both kinds of interference can mislead a modern observer. An unfortunately large number of the paintings we would like to use as detailed historical evidence have been misidentified as to representation and date, and some images have been distorted through the efforts of poorly qualified restorers. In some cases historical data can be brought to bear in order more accurately to date works of art, as in the case of the trombone, above, and Colin Slim has demonstrated ways in which other kinds of musicological research can assist with the dating of paintings containing musical material (e.g. Slim 1977). Sorting out which inaccuracies are genuine artistic “license” or “flights of fancy” and which are restorers' errors, however, is the business of art historians with the assistance of modern technology, and the rest of us can do little but be aware of the problem and seek expert guidance. In any case, the confusion caused by the “Adimari wedding Cassone” clearly illustrates the fact that we should all be far more conscious of the possible pitfalls awaiting anyone wishing to establish historical facts by using iconography without the support of other sources of information.

47 Because the dancers are in couples and their feet are low to the ground, the dance is probably of the *bassadanza* variety, see Brainard 1970, and Sparti 1993: ch. 3.

48 On the repertory and techniques of the civic *pifferi*, see Polk 1992: ch. 6 and 7.

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Dosso Dossis *Allegorie der Musik* und die Tradition des *inventor musicae* in Mittelalter und Renaissance

Gabriele Frings

*Musica quid valeat, quid sit, quicumque requiris
Hanc intrato domum, quae tibi clara patet.
Hic nam reperies, quo constant cuncta tenore
Organa vel valeant artificare melos.
Haec constat primo Tubal auctore reperta,
Asserit ut Moyses ille dei famulus.
Pitagora et Lino necnon Amphione Greci
Auctore inventam hanc etiam referunt.
(Hibernicus exul. Carmina 20; 9. Jh.)*

1. Einleitung

Jahrhundertlang war die Darstellung der Frau Musica als Personifikation der quadrivialen Disziplin Musik ein beliebtes Thema in der Buch-, Fresko- und später der Tafelmalerei. Die bildliche Formulierung der *ars musica* als weibliche Personifikation taucht im Mittelalter meistens im Verband der Artes Liberales auf. Schon ab dem zwölften Jahrhundert und verstärkt seit dem Trecento beginnen die Künstler, die Allegorie mit einer zweiten Figur in der Funktion eines Attributs der Frau Musica zu erweitern. Eine Loslösung dieses sogenannten *inventor* der Musik aus der traditionellen Allegorie der *ars musica* und seine Entwicklung zum selbständigen Bildmotiv, das in neuen Zusammenhängen auftritt, vollzieht sich dann im Cinquecento, als der Kanon der Freien Künste nicht mehr als maßgebend für das Bildungssystem galt und infolgedessen kaum noch eine Aufgabe für die bildende Kunst war. Gerade die allegorische Darstellung der Musik blieb jedoch weiterhin ein beliebtes, variantenreiches Bildthema, wenn auch Frau Musica häufig von mythologischen Figuren ersetzt wurde. Im Folgenden soll, ausgehend von einer *Allegorie der Musik* des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, die eine neuartige Zusammenstellung der Motive aufweist, die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Erfinders der Musik untersucht werden.

Das annähernd quadratische Gemälde des Ferrareser Hofmalers Dosso Dossi (um 1490–1542 Ferrara), heute in der Sammlung Horne in Florenz, ist wahrscheinlich in den 1530er Jahren für den Hof der Este gemalt worden, aus deren Schloß in Ferrara es stammt (*Fig. 1*).¹ Die ganzfigurige Komposition zeigt eine sitzende männliche Person im linken Bilddrittel sowie eine ebenfalls sitzende weibliche Figur in der Mitte und eine stehende am rechten Bildrand. Außer dem leuchtend roten Lententuch, das sich in hohem Bogen über die sitzende Frau bauscht, ist der Mann unbekleidet. Während er mit einem Hammer, der eine römische Zahl zeigt, auf den Amboß schlägt, auf den Noten niederfallen, dreht er seinen Kopf nach rechts zu einem Genius,

1 ÖI auf Leinwand, 160 : 168 cm; Museo Horne, Florenz. Inv. Nr. 80. Das Bild kam aus der Este-Sammlung in den Besitz Kardinal Cinzio Aldobrandinis und von dort in die Sammlung Borghese in Rom; 1913 wurde es in Florenz von Herbert Horne angekauft. Gibbons 1968: Nr. 23, 178. Die Datierung in die 30er Jahre wird von Gibbons aufgrund des manieristischen Stils vorgeschlagen.

der hinter ihm mit einer brennenden Fackel auf einer Wolke schwebt. Ebenfalls fast nackt bis auf das um die Hüfte geschlungene Tuch ist die sitzende Frau, die sich mit der Linken auf eine am Boden stehende Tafel mit einer kreisförmigen Notenkomposition stützt. Neben der unbekleideten, bildeinwärts gedrehten Frau rechts ist eine zweite, schräg gestellte Tafel mit im Dreieck angeordneten Notenlinien und der Inschrift "Trinitas in unum" sichtbar. Zwischen dem Mann und der Sitzenden liegt eine Lira da braccio am Boden sowie links an der vorderen Bildkante und unterhalb des Amboß weitere Hämmer mit römischen Zahlen.

Es könnte sich hier um eine konkrete mythologische Begebenheit handeln. Bei genauem Blick lassen sich jedoch Unstimmigkeiten erkennen. Der Mann hämmert auf den Amboß, ohne ein Stück Eisen zu bearbeiten; der Bildraum wird kaum definiert, denn in Kontrast zu den Grasbüscheln am Boden, die zunächst auf eine Szene im Freien deuten, steht der blaugrüne, neutrale Hintergrund; bis auf den Mann und den Genius stehen die Figuren untereinander nicht in Blickkontakt. Diese Unstimmigkeiten sowie fehlende Handlungsabläufe deuten darauf hin, daß es sich hier um eine komplexe Allegorie handelt, welche die Musik zum Thema hat.

In der bisherigen Forschung ist das Gemälde wegen des Schmieds mit der Überlieferung des *inventor musicae*, des Erfinders der Musikkunst, in Zusammenhang gebracht worden. Schon Parigi deutete das Bild als "Tubalcain" (nach *Genesis* 4, 22) und sah in den numerierten Hämmern die wissenschaftlich-technische Basis der Musik als pythagoreische Lehre symbolisiert.² Die Problematik, die in der Darstellung eines biblischen Patriarchen einerseits und einer im Bild intendierten antiken Philosophie andererseits liegt, wird vom Autor allerdings nicht aufgelöst.

Auf Parigi basiert Mirimondes Deutung des Bildes, der den Schmied ebenfalls als Tubalkain identifiziert. Die beiden Frauen personifizierten die profane und die kirchliche Musik; zum Vergleich führt der Autor das von Panofsky als *Himmlische und irdische Liebe* interpretierte Gemälde Tizians in der Galleria Borghese an (Mirimonde 1968: 306–7). Abgesehen davon, daß bei Tizian eine nackte Frau und eine vollständig in zeitgenössische Mode gekleidete zu sehen sind und deshalb die Parallelisierung wenig überzeugt, bleibt vor allem die Diskrepanz zwischen der angeblich dualen Allegorie und dem Motto "Trinitas in unum" ungeklärt.

Auch Gibbons interpretiert das Bild in seiner Dossi-Monographie ohne weiteres als Darstellung des "Tubalcain, the Biblical smith" und identifiziert die beiden Frauen als Mutter und Schwester Tubalkains, Zillah und Naomah (Gibbons 1968: Nr. 23, 178–9, 92–8). Der Autor geht — wie offensichtlich auch Parigi und Mirimonde — hier aber von der falschen Voraussetzung aus, daß in der Bibel und der mittelalterlichen Überlieferung Tubalkain als Erfinder der Musik galt, worauf unten ausführlich eingegangen wird. Obwohl von Gibbons andere, zeitlich vorangehende Bildbeispiele mit der Darstellung der Musik aufgeführt sowie auch die schriftliche Tradition der Pythagoraslegende (nach Boethius) berücksichtigt werden, kommt er zu dem nicht einleuchtenden Schluß, Dosso sei in seinem spätesten Musikbild zum Motiv des biblischen Schmieds der mittelalterlichen Legende zurückgekehrt.

Die musikwissenschaftliche Forschung bleibt ebenfalls bei der Deutung als Tubalkain. Scherliess sieht in dem Gemälde den biblischen Stammvater, der auf seinen Amboß hämmert. Ungeklärt bleibt die Art der Beziehung zwischen Tubalkain und dem von Scherliess so genannten "fackeltragenden Amor" (Scherliess 1972: 35, Nr. 35/6).

Auch Colin Slim kommt in einem viele Seiten füllenden Aufsatz nicht zu einem neuen Ergebnis: "Dosso's painting seems correctly titled as Tubalcain" (Slim 1990: 81). Obwohl er in enger Anlehnung an Gibbons eine Verschmelzung der biblischen und pythagoreischen Überlie-

2 Parigi 1940: 272–8, bes. 277. Gestützt auf Parigi, deutet auch Mezzetti 1965: N. 54, 85 den Schmied als Tubalkain.



1. Dosso Dossi, *Allegorie der Musik*. Florenz, Museo Horne. – Photo: Alinari

ferung einräumt, behält er Gibbons abwegige Deutung der nackten Frauen als Mutter und Schwester des Stammvaters der Schmiede bei, ebenfalls ohne schriftliche oder ikonographische Belege anzuführen. Es ist aber sehr fraglich, ob weibliche Gestalten aus dem Alten Testament nackt dargestellt zu werden pflegten, wenn nicht das Thema es erforderte, wie es bei Susanna, Bathseba oder den Lottöchtern der Fall ist.

Wen stellt das Gemälde aber tatsächlich dar? Überwiegen hier Anspielungen auf biblische Personen oder Bezüge auf die Antike? Welche allegorische Gesamtaussage läßt sich mit Blick auf die einzelnen Motive aus dem Bild herauslesen?

Um diese Fragen beantworten zu können, muß zunächst einmal die Schriftquellentradition zum *inventor-musicae*-Mythos und seine bildkünstlerische Umsetzung ausführlich beleuchtet werden. Im Verlauf der Darlegungen mag erkennbar werden, welche Motive einerseits Dosso

aus einer langen Tradition entnimmt und welche eigenständigen Komponenten sein Bild andererseits von der ikonographischen Tradition unterscheiden. Nur auf diesem Wege werden im Zusammenhang mit dem Thema des Musikerfinders bestimmte Identifizierungen, die auf den ersten Blick als möglich erscheinen und bis heute den Bildtitel geprägt haben, ausgegrenzt und näherliegende Deutungen der Identität des Bildpersonals entwickelt werden können.

2. Biblische und antike Überlieferung im Mittelalter

Der für die Antike maßgebliche Bericht über die Erfindung der Musik handelt von den Tonexperimenten des Pythagoras, dem schulbildenden Philosophen des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr., der sich als erster mit der Musik theoretisch auseinandersetzte. Überliefert wurden die Tonuntersuchungen des Pythagoras vom griechischen Mathematiker Nikomachos von Gerasa (um 100 n. Chr.). Bei einem Spaziergang darüber nachsinnend, ob für das Gehör eine zuverlässige Hilfe zur Bestimmung der Töne geschaffen werden könne, kam Pythagoras zufällig an einer Schmiede vorbei. Durch eine göttliche Eingebung hörte er zunächst, daß die Hammerschläge unterschiedliche, aber harmonische Töne ergaben und erkannte dann ihre numerischen Relationen als die Intervalle Diapason (Oktave; 6:12), Diapente (Quinte; 6:9) und Diatessaron (Quarte; 6:8). Beglückt lief er in die Schmiede und fand durch genaue Wägung heraus, daß die Tonunterschiede denjenigen der Gewichte der Hämmer entsprächen, denn diese verhielten sich zueinander wie die Zahlen 6, 8, 9 und 12. Zu Hause experimentierte er dann mit vier an Pflöcken gespannten, mit Gewichten behängten Saiten und fand die Beziehung zwischen der Spannung der Saiten und den Tonhöhen sowie das ihnen entsprechende Zahlenverhältnis heraus. Die Saiten habe er gemäß den gefundenen Verhältnissen von den Pflöcken auf die Wirbel eines Saiteninstruments gespannt, das er "Saitenspannungshalter" ("chordotonon") nannte. Das Ergebnis bestätigte sich durch ähnliche Versuche mit anderen Instrumenten wie Becken, Auloi, Flöten, dem Monochord und Harfen:

Prope aeris officinam deambulans, divino quodam casu exaudiit malleos ferreos, super incude tundentes, sonitusque permissus quam maxime sonos inter se reddentes, una tantum combinatione excepta. In illis vero cognovit & dia pason, & dia pente & dia tessaron concentum [...] Ingressus itaque, tanquam à Deo patefacta sibi intentione, in fabricam; ibique multis experimentis inventam [esse] sonitus differentiam, ex illis quae in malleis erant gravitatibus; [...] adpendens quatuor chordas eiusdem materiae existentes, tum aequae longas & aequae crassas, atque aequae graves, singulis singula pondera adpendit, alligata ex inferiori parte [...] Communem quidem chordarum adpensionem, quae ex palo erat ab angulo ad angulum infixo, in instrumenti metam, quam chordotonon, chordas tendentem lineam, nominabat. Atque hac inceptione utens & quasi infallibili norma, in varia deinde instrumenta experimentum extendit; tum acetabulorum pulsationem, tum tibias, tum fistulas & monochorda & triangula & adsimilia.³

- 3 "In der Nähe einer Schmiede spazierend, vernahm er durch göttlichen Zufall eiserne Hämmer auf einem Amboß schlagend und die Töne in höchst willkürlicher Weise gemischt wiedergebend, außer einer Zusammenstellung. In jenen erkannte er als Zusammenklang Diapason, Diapente, Diatessaron [...] Daher ging er in die Werkstatt hinein, als ob ihm von Gott die Eingebung eröffnet worden sei und dort [entdeckte er] die durch viele Experimente die Differenz des Klanges, die im Gewicht der Hämmer begründet lag; [...] Während er vier Saiten desselben Materials und Gewichts und derselben Länge und Dicke aufhing, hängte er an jede einzelne [Saite] ein Gewicht, das er am unteren Ende [der Saite] befestigte [...] Die gemeinsame Aufhängung der Saiten, die am Balken von Winkel zu Winkel befestigt war bis zum Ende des Instruments, nannte er Chordotonon ["Saitenspannungshalter"], der die Saiten in einer Linie spannt. Und diesen Anfang gleichsam als untrügliche Norm nutzend, dehnte er daraufhin das Experiment auf verschiedene Instrumente aus; dann [kam er] zum Schlag der Wasserbecher, dann zu den Flöten, den Röhren, Monochorden, Triangeln und zu ähnlichem", Nikomachos, *Enchiridion*: VI (hg. Jan 245–8). Die hier zitierte lateinische Übersetzung bei Meibom 1652, Teil III: 10–4, Kap. VI "Quomodo Arithmeticae sonorum rationes sint inventae".

Pythagoras wird damit als Entdecker der mathematischen Gesetze, die den Tönen zugrunde liegen, und als Erfinder des Saiteninstruments mit Wirbeln herausgestellt.⁴

Auch wenn die Auffassung, Pythagoras habe das Wirbelinstrument mit gleichlangen und verschieden stark gespannten Saiten, wie es etwa die Lyra zeigt, erfunden, zweifellos in den Bereich des Mythos gehört⁵ — später gehen die Musiktheoretiker der Renaissance davon aus, daß Pythagoras erst an der vorhandenen Lyra seine Entdeckungen machen konnte —, so steckt in der Legende doch ein wahrer Kern, denn die Pythagoreer begründeten ihre Harmonielehre tatsächlich im Zuordnen von Zahlen und Zahlenverhältnissen zu Tönen und Zusammenklängen.⁶

Mit einigen Änderungen übernimmt Macrobius (um 400 n. Chr.) diese Anekdote in seinen berühmten Kommentar zu Ciceros *Somnium Scipionis*. Nachdem Pythagoras die Hammerschläge in der Schmiede vernommen hatte, vermutete er zuerst, daß der Tonunterschied durch die Kraft des Schlages bedingt sei und ließ daher die Schmiede die Hämmer tauschen. Als sich dadurch nichts änderte, kam Pythagoras darauf, die Hämmer zu wiegen. Nach der Erkenntnis, daß die unterschiedlichen Tonhöhen vom Gewicht abhängig seien, nahm er zu Hause das Experiment mit durch Gewichte beschwerten Saiten vor:

Cum enim casu praeteriret in publico fabros ignitum ferrum ictibus mollientes, in aures eius malleorum soni certo sibi respondentibus ordine repente ceciderunt [...] quos cum ferientium viribus adscribendos putaret, iubet ut inter se malleolos mutent [...] tunc animadvertit concordiam vocis lege ponderum provenire collectisque numeris, quibus consentiens sibi diversitas ponderum continebatur, ex malleis ad fides vertit examen, et intestina ovium vel boum nervos tam variis ponderibus inligatis tetendit.⁷

Das *Enchiridion* war im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert vor allem unter humanistischen Sammlern begehrt, wie die verschiedenen Handschriften in der Biblioteca Marciana in Venedig, welche ehemals im Besitz von Jacopo Contarini und Kardinal Bessarion waren, vermuten lassen. Bessarion beispielsweise besaß ein „*Liber musicae novus*“ mit ausschließlich griechischen Musiktheoretikern, darunter auch Nikomachos, vgl. Gallo 1989: 15–6. Wie sehr Nikomachos auf Boethius' Musikauffassung gewirkt hat, untersucht Bower 1978: 1–45.

- 4 Diese Unterscheidung war Nikomachos deshalb wichtig, weil seit Platon (*Politeia*) zwei Auffassungen von der Musik einander gegenüberstanden und sich bis Ptolemaios (2. Jh. n. Chr.) gegenseitig bekämpften. Auf der einen Seite standen die Kanoniker, zu denen die Pythagoreer gehörten, welche die Töne auf ihre numerische Faßbarkeit untersuchten; auf der anderen standen die Empiriker (Harmoniker), welche die Töne nach dem Gehör bestimmten; für Quellenmaterial vgl. Georgiades 1958: 88–123. Indem laut Nikomachos Pythagoras noch beide Auffassungen vereint, wird er als *der* Musikerfinder schlechthin hervorgehoben.
- 5 Den Griechen war die Leier mit ihren gleichlangen Saiten schon vor Pythagoras bekannt. Dagegen fand — im Gegensatz zu Nikomachos' Behauptung — das im Orient beliebte Harfeninstrument mit verschiedenen langen Saiten anscheinend erst im fünften Jahrhundert Eingang in die altgriechische Musikkultur. Zur Abhängigkeit der griechischen von den altorientalischen Instrumenten vgl. Wegner 1950: 46–50. Da Pythagoras laut verschiedener griechischer Quellen eine Ägyptenreise unternommen hat, ist es in der Tat möglich, daß er die Griechen mit einem oder mehreren fremdartigen Saiteninstrumenten bekannt machte; zu biographischen Quellen siehe van der Waerden 1979: 44–63. Lloyd 1979: 144–5, weist allgemein darauf hin, daß empirische Experimente in der Art, wie sie in der Pythagoraslegende beschrieben werden, überhaupt erst im frühen vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr. möglich waren. Außerdem ist auch die Abhängigkeit der Tonhöhen von den Gewichten der Hämmer als physikalisch falsch zu betrachten, wie Münxelhaus 1976: 50–5 darlegt.
- 6 Van der Waerden 1979: 364–91. Neben der Musik waren seit dem fünften Jahrhundert v. Chr. auch die Kunstgattungen der Plastik und Architektur von der numerisch-harmonischen Weltanschauung der Pythagoreer geprägt, siehe dazu Utitz 1959: 20–4.
- 7 „Als er durch Zufall an Schmieden vorbeiging, welche im Freien glühendes Eisen erweichten, hörte er plötzlich die Klänge der Hämmer, die einander in einer bestimmten Ordnung antworteten. Da er meinte, daß diese [Klänge] den Kräften der Schlagenden zuzurechnen seien, ließ er sie untereinander die Hämmer tauschen. Dann bemerkte er, daß der Zusammenklang aus dem Gesetz der Gewichte hervorgeht und nachdem er die Zahlen gesammelt hatte, in welchen die sich gleich verhaltende Verschiedenheit der Gewichte enthalten war, wandte er sich von der Untersuchung der Hämmer zu den Saiten und spannte die Därme von Schafen oder Rindern mit verschiedenen daran befestigten Gewichten aus“, Macrobius, (ed. pr. Venedig 1492): II, 1, 8–24, hg. Willis 1970: 96–9.

Macrobius berichtet also auch von der Schmiedewerkstatt und den Saitenexperimenten, läßt dafür aber die Konstruktion des Saiteninstruments weg. Damit wird Pythagoras weniger als Musikpraktiker, sondern ganz als Musikphilosoph verstanden, dem auch die Entdeckung der Sphärenharmonie zugeschrieben wurde. Außerdem geht Macrobius über die später in Gebrauch bleibende Vierzahl der Intervalle (“epogdonus” = Tonus = Sekunde 9:8; “epitritus” = Diatessaron; “hemiolius” = Diapente; “duplaris” = Diapason) hinaus und erweitert sie mit “quadruplus” und “tripularis” auf die ebenfalls als vollkommen geltende Sechszahl (*Senarius*).⁸

Für das Mittelalter und die Renaissance war in musiktheoretischen Fragen Boethius († um 525) die unumstrittene Autorität; sein aus fünf Bücher bestehender Traktat *De institutione musica* (ed. princ. Venedig 1491/2) ist deshalb für unsere ikonographische Fragestellung wichtig, weil er den späteren Jahrhunderten in detailreicher Schilderung die Pythagoraslegende, basierend auf Nikomachos, überliefert.⁹ Eingehend schildert er in zwei Kapiteln das stufenweise experimentierende Vorgehen in der Schmiede und zu Hause: die Verschiedenheit des Klanges der Hammerschläge, das Vertauschen der Hämmer, ihr Wiegen, die Entdeckung der vier Intervalle (Sekunde, Quarte, Quinte, Oktave), die Erzeugung entsprechender Töne durch unterschiedlich große und gefüllte Becher und verschieden stark gespannte Saiten.¹⁰

Älter als die griechisch-römische Tradition ist die biblische Überlieferung von der Erfindung der Kunst der Musik. Nach ihr (*Genesis* 4, 21) ist Jubal, der Sohn Lamechs aus der Ehe mit Zillah, der Stammvater aller Saiten- und Blasinstrumentenspieler (“Jubal ipse fuit pater canentium cithara et organo”); dagegen ist Tubalkain, der Halbbruder des Jubal (*Genesis* 4, 22), der Stammvater der Erz- und Eisenschmiede (“Thubalcain qui fuit malleator et faber in cuncta opera aeris et ferri”).

Jubal wird als biblische Gestalt zum ersten Mal von Isidor von Sevilla († um 570) zu den *inventores musicae* gezählt und damit Pythagoras an die Seite gestellt, dessen Legende der Autor ebenfalls kennt:

Moyses dicit repertorem musicae artis fuisse Jubal, qui fuit de stirpe Cain ante diluvium. Graeci vero Pythagoram dicunt huius artis invenisse primordia, ex malleorum sonitu, et cordarum extensione percussa.¹¹

- 8 Macrobius II, 1, 14–22, hg. Willis 1970: 97–8. In Vitruvius *De architectura*, Buch V, 4, 113 heißt es: “Concentus, quos natura hominis modulari potest, Graece quae symphonias dicuntur, sunt sex: diatessaron, diapente, diapason, et disdiatessaron, et disdiapente, et disdiapason” (“Die Zahl der zusammenstimmenden Klangverbindungen [Konsonanzen], die die menschliche Stimme hervorbringen kann, [griechisch heißen sie Symphonias], ist 6: Quarte, Quinte, Oktave, Quarte über der Oktave, Quinte über der Oktave, Doppeloktave”; ed. Fensterbusch 1991: 218–20).
- 9 Seit Boethius war die pythagoreische Musiklehre in das Quadrivium eingegangen, siehe Münxelhaus 1976: 57–63 und Bower 1978: 20–6. Besonders von den Humanisten wurde Boethius als klassische Autorität in Ehren gehalten; es störte sie nicht, daß er auch im Mittelalter ein anerkanntes Vorbild war. Noch im sechzehnten Jahrhundert wurde Boethius von den Musiktheoretikern als “Divino Boetio Romano” gepriesen, wie es z. B. im Vorwort der Abhandlung *Scintille di musica* (Brescia 1533) des Giovanni Lanfranco zu lesen ist.
- 10 Siehe Boethius, *De institutione musica*: I, Kap. 10 “Quemadmodum Pythagoras proportionibus consonantiarum investigaverit” und Kap. 11 “Quibusmodis variae a Pythagoras proportionibus consonantiarum perpensae sint”, hg. Friedlein: 196–8. Auch in Fragen der musikalischen Konsonanzen zieht Boethius den Nikomachos Plato vor (I, 31 “Quid contra Platonem Nicomachus sentiat”; vgl. auch II, 17 “De consonantiarum modo secundum Nicomachum”).
- 11 “Moses sagt, daß Jubal aus dem Stamme Kains vor der Sintflut der Erfinder der Musik gewesen sei. Die Griechen sagen freilich, daß Pythagoras der erste gewesen sei, der diese Kunst aus dem Klang der Hämmer und der gespannten Saiten erfunden habe”, Isidor, *De musica* (*Etymologiae* III, 15–23): 16, 1, *PL* LXXXII, 163. Lindsay 1911, I, der für seine Edition der *Etymologiae* drei Handschriftengruppen (Francicae, Italicae, Hispanicae) mit insgesamt 36 Codices heranzog, gibt — im Unterschied zu Migne, der keine Angaben zu benutzten Codices macht — nur die Namensschreibweise Tubal an, ohne eine Abweichung in einer der Abschriften anzumerken. Da die ältesten Abschriften erst aus dem achten Jahrhundert datieren, sind Rückschlüsse auf den Originaltext Isidors kaum möglich. Gibbons 1968: 92, meint irrtümlich, daß “medieval scholars as early as Isidore of Seville therefore credited Tubalcain with the invention of music”.

Diese lapidare Feststellung Isidors ist im Vergleich mit den Enzyklopädisten des hohen Mittelalters noch sehr allgemein gehalten. Sie hält sich streng an die rein biblische Überlieferung, wie es auch bei den nachfolgenden Musiktheoretikern zu beobachten ist (z. B. Johannes Affligemensis, 12. Jh.).¹²

Ob Isidor im Originaltext die ursprüngliche Schreibweise des Namens Jubal angibt oder die auf einem orthographischen Fehler beruhende Umwandlung zu Tubal rezipiert, ist für die Identität des Musikerfinders unerheblich. Mit beiden Schreibweisen ist sicherlich Jubal gemeint und nicht sein Halbbruder Tubalkain, da Isidor sich bezüglich der Musikerfindung ausdrücklich auf den Bibeltext beruft; in ihm aber steht Tubalkain in keinerlei Zusammenhang mit der Musik. Auch die späteren Traktatisten werden häufig die Bezeichnung Tubal statt Jubal für den Musikerfinder gebrauchen. Die orthographische Transformation von Jubal zu Tubal, die Beichner in seiner aufschlußreichen etymologischen Studie für die Überlieferung des Mittelalters untersuchte (1954: 7–19), hat sich wahrscheinlich schon in frühen Abschriften der beiden lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen, der Vulgata und Vetus Latina, eingeschlichen.

In dieser Transformation liegt wahrscheinlich zum Teil die in Bildzeugnissen vorkommende Verwechslung Jubals/Tubals mit dem Erzschnied Tubalkain begründet.

Eine weitere Quelle für diese Verwechslung mögen die *Jüdischen Altertümer* des Flavius Josephus († um 100) gewesen sein, der für den Schmied Tubalkain die Kurzform Tubal gebraucht.¹³ Dieser Text spielte aber für die Bildkunst nur eine indirekte Rolle, da er in veränderter Form in die scholastischen Schriften eingeflossen ist, zu denen wir nun kommen.

Bis ins zwölfte Jahrhundert wurde die biblische Erzählung neutral neben die antike Pythagoraslegende gestellt. Erst mit dem Aufkommen der Scholastik ändert sich diese Einstellung.

Das früheste Zeugnis für eine Verschmelzung der antiken und der christlichen Überlieferung von den Ursprüngen der Musik, verbunden mit einer apologetischen Stellungnahme, ist die berühmte *Historia Scholastica*, eine schon im Mittelalter vielfach rezipierte und seit der *editio princeps* 1473 in Augsburg in zahlreichen Auflagen gedruckte biblisch-historische Enzyklopädie des Petrus Comestor († 1179), Abt von St. Viktor in Paris. Laut Mose sei Tubal (= Jubal) der "Vater" der Saiten- und Blasinstrumentenspieler, die Musikinstrumente jedoch seien lange vorher erfunden worden, so daß Tubal in Wahrheit der Erfinder der musikalischen Konsonanzen sei. Nach dieser Berichtigung wird auch der Schmied Tubalkain vorgestellt, der die Eisenkunst erfunden habe:

Nomen fratris ejus Tubal, pater canentium in cithara, et organo. Non instrumentorum quidem, quae longe post inventa fuerunt, sed inventor fuit musicae, id est consonantiarum [...] Tubalcain, qui ferrariam artem primus invenit, res bellicas prudenter exercuit.¹⁴

Um diese neue Nachricht über Jubal zu begründen, gibt Comestor einen von der Bibel völlig abweichenden Bericht. Jubal habe zufällig in der Schmiede Tubalkains anhand der Klänge des

- 12 *De musica cum tonario*, Kap. III "Unde dicta sit musica et a quo et quomodo sit inventa": "Refert autem Moyses artis huius Tubal repertorem fuisse [...] Asserunt namque philosophum quendam Samium Pythagoram nomine artis huius inventorem extitisse. Hic erat vir ut aiunt sapientia clarissimus, facundia invictissimus, ingenio acutissimus", hg. Smits van Waesberghe: 56–7.
- 13 Flavius Josephus, *Jüdische Altertümer* I, 2: "Sein Bruder Jubal übte die Musik und erfand das Psalter- und Harfenspiel. Thobel [=Tubal] aber, ein Sohn des anderen Weibes, der an Körperkraft alle überragte, verlegte sich auf die Kriegskunst [...] Auch erfand er die Schmiedekunst", hg. Clementz 1923, I: 23–4.
- 14 "Der Name seines Bruders war Tubal, Vater der Kithara- und Orgelmusik. Er war aber nicht der Erfinder der Instrumente, die lange vorher erfunden worden waren, sondern der Musik, das heißt der Konsonanzen [...] Tubalkain, der als erster die Eisenkunst erfand, übte sich in den Kriegsdingen", *Historia Scholastica* XXVIII, PL CLXXXVIII, 1079 A-B.

Metalls die Harmoniegesetze entdeckt, deren Erfindung fälschlich dem Pythagoras zugeschrieben worden sei:

Quo fabricante Tubal, de quo dictum est, sono metallorum delectatus, ex ponderibus eorum proportionēs, et consonantias eorum quae ex eis nascuntur excogitavit, quam inventionem Graeci Pythagorae attribuunt fabulose.¹⁵

Im Unterschied zur Pythagoras-Legende bleibt hier aber unklar, ob Jubal selbst mit den Hämmer experimentiert oder die Schmiede anweist. Dieser Punkt wird für die Ikonographie des biblischen *inventor* von großer Bedeutung sein. Hervorzuheben ist auch die erstmals bei Comestor auftretende Verknüpfung der Tätigkeiten der beiden Halbbrüder Jubal und Tubalkain. Hierin liegt neben der orthographischen Umwandlung eine weitere, ganz konkrete Quelle für die später in der Bildkunst auftretende Personenverwechslung. Um die Glaubwürdigkeit seiner Legende zu steigern, erzählt Comestor zusätzlich die Geschichte von den zwei Säulen: da Adam zwei Gerichte vorausgesagt hatte, schrieb Jubal, wie Josephus sage, die erfundene musikalische Kunst, damit sie nicht verlorengehe, auf je eine Ziegelsäule - falls es eine Feuerkatastrophe gäbe - und auf eine Marmorsäule - falls es eine Flut gäbe:

Et quia aut erat Adam prophetasse de duobus judiciis, ne periret ars inventa, scripsit eam in duabus columnis, in qualibet totam, ut dicit Josephus, una marmorea, altera latericia, quarum altera non diluatur diluvio, altera non solveretur incendio. Marmoream dicit Josephus adhuc esset in terra Syriaca.¹⁶

Ganz offensichtlich ist es Comestors Bestreben gewesen, Jubal gegenüber Pythagoras als den eigentlichen, wahren Erfinder der Musik herauszustellen und somit der heidnisch-antiken eine biblische Autorität entgegenzusetzen.¹⁷ Da im Alten Testament Jubal nur als Begründer der instrumentalen Musik genannt wird, nicht aber als Erfinder der von jeher hochgeschätzten mathematischen Musiktheorie, als der Pythagoras angesehen wurde, mußten zum nüchternen biblischen Bericht entsprechende Episoden dazuerfunden werden, die Jubal auch als Erfinder der harmonikalischen Grundlagen auswiesen. Um die "Authentizität" der Jubal-Überlieferung zu belegen, schiebt Comestor die Erzählung von den zwei Säulen ein, für deren reale Existenz Josephus als vermeintlicher historischer Zeuge angeführt wird. In Wahrheit jedoch tauchen die beiden Säulen bei Josephus nicht in der Jubalgeschichte, sondern in einer ganz anderen Patriarchenerzählung auf, nämlich in der von den Söhnen des Seth, eines Sohnes Adams. Sie jedoch begründeten die Astronomie und schrieben ihre sternkundlichen Erkenntnisse in Anbetracht der Gerichtsweissagung Adams auf eine Säule aus Stein und eine aus Ziegel gegen Flut und Feuer.¹⁸

15 "Und der Klang des geschmiedeten Eisens erfreute den erwähnten Tubal, aus den Gewichten erkannte er ihre Verhältnisse und Konsonanzen, die aus ihnen entstehen, wie sie diese Erfindung in märchenhafter Weise dem Griechen Pythagoras zugeschrieben haben", PL CLXXXVIII, 1079 C.

16 "Und weil Adam zwei Gerichte geweissagt hatte, schrieb er sie vollständig, damit die erfundene Kunst nicht verloren ginge, auf zwei Säulen, wie Josephus sagt, die eine war aus Marmor, die andere aus Ziegelsteinen, weil die eine [Marmor] nicht durch eine Flut zerstört wird, die andere [Ziegel] sich nicht in Feuer auflöst. Die marmorne, sagt Josephus, befindet sich noch heute in Syrien", PL CLXXXVIII, 1079 C. Slim 1990: 67–8 übersieht das Material der Säulen, obwohl sie in verschiedenen Bildbeispielen in direkter Anlehnung an den Text Comestors farblich unterschieden sind.

17 Cohen 1974: 86 meint: "it is at this point [= Schmiedegeschichte] that the identity of Jubal and Pythagoras is explicitly established"; dem ist entgegenzuhalten, daß Comestor gerade *nicht* die Identität der zwei Personen zu verschmelzen sucht. Zwar bedient er sich einiger Details der Pythagoraslegende, aber doch nur, um Jubal gegen Pythagoras abzugrenzen und ihn über diesen zu erheben. Man kann hier also nur vorsichtig vom bewußten Zusammenfügen zweier Legendentraditionen sprechen.

18 *Jüdische Altertümer* I, 3: "Seth zeichnete sich [...] durch tugendhaftes Streben aus und wie er selbst ein vortrefflicher Mann war, hinterliess er auch ebensolche Söhne [...] Sie erfanden die Sternkunde, und damit ihre

Der irrtümliche Bezug auf Josephus für die Jubalsäulen wird noch von den Traktatisten der Renaissance (z. B. Adam von Fulda; Gafurio) kritiklos übernommen. Selbst in der heutigen Fachliteratur kann man diese Übernahme lesen.¹⁹

Comestors Jubal-Apologie, insbesondere seine Betonung der Entdeckung musikalischer Intervalle (“Non instrumentum quidem, quae longe post inventa fuerunt, *sed inventor fuit musicae, id est consonantiarum*”) hat einen ganz konkreten, in der scholastischen Bildungslehre wurzelnden Hintergrund. Gerade einige Jahrzehnte zuvor hatte nämlich Hugo von St. Viktor († 1141), einer der Vorgänger-Äbte Comestors in Paris, seine für das gesamte Mittelalter verbindliche scharfe Trennung zwischen den *Artes Liberales* und den *Artes Mechanicae* gezogen. Für die Musik bedeutete diese Klassifizierung eine Aufteilung in die *ars liberalis musica*, also die mathematische Wissenschaft, und die *ars mechanica musica*, die Hugo in die Kategorie der “ars theatraica”, des gering geachteten Musizierens der Spielleute, einordnete.²⁰ Mit dieser neuen Einteilung wurde das praktische instrumentale Musizieren von kirchlicher Seite als lasterhafte, da zur Sünde verführende Kunst verworfen (vgl. Hartung 1982). Aus diesem Grunde ist es verständlich, daß der biblische Jubal nicht länger nur als Erfinder der geringer geachteten, praktischen Musik gelten konnte, sondern als *Musikwissenschaftler* herausgestellt werden mußte.

Comestors Juballegende hat in jedem Fall weitreichende Wirkungen auf die Ikonographie der *Ars Musica* gehabt, die bis dahin hauptsächlich mit Pythagoras oder David dargestellt wurde (siehe Seebaß 1973: 93–6, und 1988: 23–43).

Das biblische Lehrgedicht *Aurora* des Petrus Riga († 1209 in Reims), ein ebenfalls weit verbreitetes enzyklopädisches Werk, ist offensichtlich von der *Historia Scholastica* abhängig. Jedenfalls wird hierin die früheste Rezeption der nichtbiblischen Geschichte von Jubal in der Schmiede faßbar.²¹

Andere mittelalterliche Autoren übernahmen sogar fast wörtlich die gesamte Juballegende einschließlich der Säulengeschichte aus der *Historia*, so z. B. Johannes Aegidius Zamorensis (13. Jh.), der sich in seiner *Ars musica* nicht nur ausdrücklich auf Comestor beruft, sondern auch

Erfindungen nicht verloren gingen und vernichtet würden, ehe sie zu allgemeiner Kenntnis gelangten (denn Adam hatte den Untergang aller Dinge teils durch Feuer, teils durch heftige Überschwemmungen vorhergesagt), so errichteten sie zwei Säulen, die eine aus Ziegeln, die andere aus Stein, und schrieben das von ihnen Erfundene auf beiden ein [...] Die steinerne Säule steht übrigens noch heute in Syrien”, hg. Clementz: I, 24–5. Schon bei Hrabanus im *Commentarium in Genesim* wird die Säulengeschichte unter ausdrücklicher Erwähnung des Josephus fälschlich auf Jubals Musikerfindung bezogen: “De hoc [Jubal] Josephus historiographus Judaeorum ita referet”; es folgt die Musikentdeckungsgeschichte in der Schmiede und am Schluß das Zeugnis der zwei Säulen, *PL* CVII, 508 C–D. Vielleicht ist Comestor von Hrabanus beeinflusst gewesen. Im Unterschied zu ihm jedoch läßt Comestor die Autorität des Josephus direkt in die Säulengeschichte einfließen. Oppermann 1925: 293, Anm. 42 und 295, Anm. 48, der sich anscheinend bei der Vorlagensuche für Comestor allein auf die Jubalstelle bei Josephus beschränkte, meinte irrtümlich, daß die Säulengeschichte bei Josephus nicht vorkomme.

19 Brown 1984: 27: “The pillars are clearly those associated with the Biblical Jubal in the Jewish Antiquities of Josephus Flavius”. Brown beruft sich auf Cohen 1974, die aber diesen Irrtum nicht begeht, sondern gemäß des Josephus-Textes die Säulen der Geschichte von den Söhnen des Seth zuordnet, wenn auch mit etwas mißverständlicher Betonung: “Thus, the discovery of celestial knowledge and its inscription on two pillars was attributed by Josephus not to Jubal but to descendants of Seth” (1974: 87). Slim, der sich ebenfalls auf Cohen beruft, bewertet die von der Jubalgeschichte völlig unabhängige Erzählung über die Söhne des Seth bei Josephus fälschlich als “important commentary on the Tubalcain passage found in Genesis 4, 21–2” (1990: 66).

20 *Eruditiones Didascalicae Libri VII*. In Buch II, Kap. 9 und 13 wird die Musik als *ars liberalis* behandelt; in Kap. 21 mit dem Titel “*Divisio mechanicae in septem scientias*” und Kap. 28 wird die Musik zur “theatraica” gezählt und taucht im Zusammenhang mit dem niederen Stand der Spielleute im Theater auf, *PL* CLXXVI, 756 und 760–2.

21 Der Text der *Aurora* des Petrus Riga in *PL* CCXII, 22 B. Tubalcain wird ausführlich als Schmied und Metallschneider beschrieben, keineswegs aber als Musikerfinder.

auf Hrabanus und Josephus als Historiographen, um die Pythagoraslegende zu widerlegen: "Pythagoras [...] attamen non fuit huius artis inventor primarius sive auctor".²²

Auch Jacobus von Lüttich (14. Jh.) zitiert mehrere Male den Scholastiker Comestor, dessen Juballegende er verkürzt wiedergibt, indem er unter anderem die Schmiedeerzählung wegläßt. Jedoch weist er ausdrücklich auf Jubals Erfindung der musikalischen Konsonanzen hin. Dagegen erwähnt er bei Pythagoras zwar die Hämmer, läßt aber das wichtige Ergebnis der Intervallfindung weg.²³

In den meisten enzyklopädischen Kompendien des Mittelalters wird also neben der Jubal- auch die Pythagoraslegende erwähnt. Beide Überlieferungen werden in den theologisch ausgerichteten Schriften aber nicht neutral nebeneinander gesetzt, sondern Jubal wird deutlich als der eigentliche, wahre Musikerfinder herausgehoben.²⁴

Vom vierzehnten Jahrhundert an wird dann bei den Musiktheoretikern zunehmend die Tendenz sichtbar, beide Traditionen des *inventor musicae*-Mythos in vernünftiger Weise in Einklang zu bringen. So schreibt der englische Musiktheoretiker Walter Odington in der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts in seiner Abhandlung *De speculatione musice*, daß Jubal den Geschichtsschreibern gemäß der erste gewesen sei, der die Musik praktiziert habe, Pythagoras dagegen habe zuerst die Konsonanzen entdeckt, die der Nachwelt überkommen seien.²⁵ In die gleiche Richtung geht Ugolino da Orvieto (um 1380–1460) in seinem Traktat *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* (Ferrara, um 1430–35): Jubal habe laut Mose nur die praktische Musik erfunden, dagegen Pythagoras die proportionalen Tonverhältnisse, welche die süße Melodie erzeugten.²⁶ Damit vertreten die beiden Musiktheoretiker genau die Auffassung, die der Scholastiker Comestor durch seine ausgeschmückte Juballegende gerade zu widerlegen suchte.

Als wichtigstes Resultat kann man zunächst festhalten, daß weder in den mittelalterlichen Schriften noch in den Traktaten der Frührenaissance eine Verwechslung zwischen Jubal/Tubal als Entdecker der musikalischen Proportionen und dem Schmied Tubalkain vorkommt, wie es einige Forscher irrtümlich meinen (Brown 1984: 28; Mirimonde 1968: 306–7; ders. 1975–77, I: 19; Michels-Gebler 1984: 16–8; Vogel 1973: 415–6; Münxelhaus 1976: 46–55). In der zuerst von Petrus Comestor erzählten, weit verbreiteten Legende von Jubals Erfindung, die auf dem knappen alttestamentlichen Text gründet, wird Tubalkain dem Bibeltext gemäß ausdrücklich nur als Schmied und Metallarbeiter genannt, der in keinem Zusammenhang mit der Musik steht. Umgekehrt besteht eine notwendige Beziehung zwischen Jubal und der Schmiede (des Tubalkain), die aber sowohl bei Comestor als auch bei allen folgenden Comestor-Rezipienten

22 "Pythagoras [...] war aber nicht der erste Erfinder dieser Kunst noch ihr Urheber", Johannes Aegidius de Zamora, *Ars musica*: Kap. 1, hg. Robert-Tissot: 36–42. Bemerkenswert ist, daß Johannes von Zamora beide Namensschreibweisen aufführt. Dem Text des Johannes Aegidius widmet McKinnon 1978: 3–5, einen längeren Kommentar. Er erkennt jedoch die überragende Rolle Comestors in der scholastischen Lehre sowohl für die schriftliche als auch die bildliche Tradition, in der Johannes nur einer der Rezipienten ist.

23 *Speculum musicae* I, Kap. 6; für Jubal weist er ausdrücklich auf die Erfindung der musikalischen Konsonanzen hin: "non quia dicta repererit instrumenta, ut ibidem dicit Magister in Historiis [=Comestor] [...] repererit musicales consonantias" ("er erfand nicht die Instrumente, sondern die musikalischen Konsonanzen, wie Magister [Comestor] in der Historia [...] sagt"), hg. Bragard: I, 25.

24 In dem apologetischen Kommentar *Metrologus liber* zum *Micrologus* des Guido von Arezzo, der von einem anonymen englischen Verfasser aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert stammt, wird den Griechen ein schwerer Irrtum in der Frage des *inventor musicae* vorgeworfen: "Et sic maxime errant Graeco putantes Pythagoram philosophum dictae artis esse inventorem" (im Kapitel "De inventoribus artis musicae", Vers 8); als Beweis für die Authentizität der Erfindung Jubals werden wieder die Säulen, von denen Josephus die steinerne in Syrien gesehen haben soll, angeführt, hg. Smits van Waesberghe: 67–8.

25 *De speculatione musice*, im Kap. "De mensuratione sonorum secundum Pythagorum", CS I, 193.

26 *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* (geschrieben in Ferrara 1430–35), Buch IV, 31, hg. Seay 1962, III: 185–8.

nicht konkret beschrieben wird, etwa, ob Jubal selber mit den Hämmern praktizierte oder nur die Handwerker anwies, wie es im Pythagorasbericht beschrieben wird. Diese Berichtlücke hat der Phantasie der bildenden Künstler viel freien Raum gelassen, so daß der Typus des hämmernenden Jubal entstehen konnte, der seit den dreißiger Jahren des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts nachweisbar ist. Mit ihm ist die Juballegende einschließlich der Schmiedegeschichte sozusagen in einer Person zusammengefaßt. Die Frage nach einer möglichen Identifizierung als Pythagoras stellt sich zunächst für die Kunst der Frührenaissance nicht. Denn in den Bilderzyklen der *Septem Artes Liberales* hat sich Pythagoras allgemein als *auctor* der Arithmetik etabliert (vgl. Fellerer 1959, Stammler 1962, Lippmann 1966 und Tezmen-Siegel 1985).

3. Die Darstellung des *inventor musicae* im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert

Aus dem skulpturalen Bildprogramm des von Giotto entworfenen Campanile in Florenz sind drei der oktagonalen Reliefmedaillons hervorzuheben, angefertigt von Andrea Pisano um 1350 und von Luca della Robbia 1437–9.²⁷ In der untersten Reihe auf der Westseite sieht man Tubalkain am Amboß in seiner Schmiedewerkstatt. Auf der Südseite sitzt Jubal im Zelt und bläst in ein Horn, das er mit Hilfe der Bohrwerkzeuge am Tisch gefertigt hat (Fig. 2). Der biblische Stammvater wird hier wörtlich gemäß des Genesistextes als Erfinder der Musikinstrumente aufgefaßt. Man wird nun erwarten, daß in diesem Zyklus der Künste und Handwerke auch das Komplement des Musizierens, die numerische Musiktheorie, ihren Platz findet, und diese ist tatsächlich dargestellt. In der oberen Reihe auf der Nordseite mit den Reliefs von della Robbia sitzt eine bärtige Person frontal links neben einem Amboß, auf den sie mit zwei Hämmern einschlägt; ihrem Klang lauscht sie mit schräg geneigtem Kopf (Fig. 3). Es kann sich entgegen der in der kunsthistorischen Literatur seit Julius von Schlosser festgesetzten Meinung, daß hier Tubalkain dargestellt sei, nur um Jubal handeln, dessen Entdeckung der musikalischen Proportionen in der Schmiede seines Bruders durch Amboß und Hämmer verkürzt wiedergegeben ist.²⁸ Somit personifiziert Jubal gemäß der mittelalterlichen Tradition einmal die Erfindung der zu den mechanischen Künsten zählenden instrumentalen Musik und ein zweites Mal die Erfindung der mathematischen Musiktheorie als quadrivierale Disziplin. Eine doppelte Darstellung Tubalkains mit demselben Attribut ergäbe dagegen überhaupt keinen Sinn, zumal Tubalkain — im Gegensatz zu Jubal — in den mittelalterlichen Quellen bezüglich seiner Erfindung der Schmiedekunst keine spezifische Hervorhebung erfährt.

Neben der Kunstgattung der Skulptur (Rossi und Salermi 1952: 66) birgt insbesondere die Buch- und Freskomalerei eine Vielzahl von Darstellungen der personifizierten Freien Künste,

27 Die Originale sämtlicher Reliefs befinden sich heute im Museo dell'Opera del Duomo von Florenz. Die Größe der rautenförmigen Marmormedaillons von Pisano beträgt 83 : 69 cm, diejenige der sechseckigen della Robbia-Reliefs 81,5 : 69 cm.

28 von Schlosser 1896: 53–5; d'Ancona 1902: 227; Gibbons 1968: 93; Romano 1976: 193 mit der allein sachlich falschen Behauptung: "Tubalcain, il fabbro, che, sulla base del passo de Genesi IV, 20–2, era considerato l' 'inventor' della musica e che la rappresenta anche nei rilievi del Campanile di Giotto"; Brunetti möchte im della Robbia-Relief die Astrologie mit Pythagoras erkennen, als Stütze führt sie Vasari (1568) an ("un Tolomeo per Astrologia"); Vasari muß aber selbstverständlich für eine authentische Interpretation wegfallen, da ihm die mittelalterliche Tradition der Schrift- und Bildquellen nicht mehr vertraut war, vgl. Becherucci und Brunetti I: 276–7. Pope-Hennessy 1980: 31 bezieht sich ebenfalls auf Vasaris Deutung, korrigiert sie aber: "The first part of Vasari's explanation is correct, but the figure is Pythagoras, who listens to the harmony of the sounds he has produced". Eine Darstellung des Pythagoras, also des heidnischen Philosophen, ist angesichts des stark scholastisch beeinflussten Bildprogramms am Campanile — seine allegorischen Darstellungen der Freien und Mechanischen Künste gehen konkret auf Hugo von St. Viktor zurück — kaum denkbar.



2. Andrea Pisano, *Jubal*. Relief vom Campanile, Florenz. Florenz, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. – Photo: Autorin

3. Luca della Robbia, *Jubal*. Relief vom Campanile, Florenz. Florenz, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. – Photo: Autorin

denen jeweils ein "historischer" Repräsentant als *auctor* oder *inventor* beigesellt ist. Dieser Bildtypus bildete sich insbesondere unter dem Einfluß des Lehrgedichtes *Der welsche Gast* des Thomasin von Zerclaere († 1259) heraus.²⁹ Offensichtlich jedoch war dieses Gedicht gerade für die Ikonographie der Musik nicht verbindlich. Weder Jubal noch Pythagoras werden hier genannt, sondern nur Gregor d. Gr., der griechische Dichtermusiker Timotheus und Millesius (=Thales von Milet).

In den Musikallegorien des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts ist meistens ein bärtiger Mann dargestellt mit einem Amboß, auf den er mit zwei Hämmern schlägt. Die Art der Kleidung mit der an den Seiten hochgeklappten Mütze ist ganz ähnlich derjenigen, die Jubal auf dem Florentiner Relief der Nordseite trägt.

Unter den bekannten Darstellungen der Allegorie der Musik im Verband der Artes Liberales ist an erster Stelle die Miniatur von Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna in Giovanni Andreas *Novella in libros decretalium* von 1354 zu nennen. Das Gesamtprogramm des illuminierten Blattes besteht aus einem oberen Register mit Tugenden und Lastern und einem unteren mit den Freien Künsten und ihren Repräsentanten (Fig. 4).³⁰ Frau Musica ist an sechster Stelle mit Rebec und Laute wiedergegeben, die sie in Anspielung auf die musikalischen Proportionen als

29 Zu den einzelnen erhaltenen Handschriften mit Darstellungen der Artes Liberales siehe Tezmen-Siegel 1985: 119–29. Einen Vorläufer für diese Bildidee gab es schon in der römischen Kunst, in den Darstellungen der Musen mit jeweils einem berühmten Gelehrten (z. B. das Trierer Monnusmosaik, 3. Jh. v. Chr.), vgl. dazu Stammer, 1962: 196–9.

30 Mailand, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. B. 42 inf. fol. 1r.; die Signatur am rechten Rand lautet: "ego Nichola d'Bononia F." Quellen zur ikonographischen Verbindung zwischen den sieben Tugenden und Künsten gibt Filangieri di Candida 1900: 129–30.



4. Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna. *Tugenden und Artes Liberales*. Aus *Novella in libros decretalium*. Mailand, Biblioteca Ambrosiana. – Photo: Archiv des Kunsthistorischen Instituts, Bonn

Grundlage der Musik gerade stimmt.³¹ Zu ihren Füßen kauert der bärtige Mann, auf dessen Amboß "Iubalcain" geschrieben steht. Man hat hiermit ein typisches Beispiel für die genannte Namensverwechslung. Denn daß mit der männlichen Figur nicht der Schmied Tubalkain, wie bisher angenommen, sondern der Musikerfinder Jubal gemeint ist, beweist neben der phantasievollen Namensschreibweise auch das Motiv der bisher nicht berücksichtigten zwei Säulen, die hintereinandergestaffelt links neben Frau Musica zu sehen sind.³² Die beiden Monumente verweisen in ihrer deutlich unterschiedenen Färbung auf die marmorne und die Ziegelsäule, auf

31 Für die traditionelle Verwendung und Bewertung der Laute und der Rebec im vierzehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhundert und die sich daraus begründende Aufnahme in die Ikonographie der Musica-Allegorien siehe Brown 1984: 43–8. Ergänzend zu Brown möchte ich auf eine Miniatur im Canzonale von Krumlov, Anfang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts entstanden, hinweisen. Sie stellt die Werkstatt Tubalkains mit zwei hämmernnden Schmieden und seinen Halbbruder Jubal mit einer Laute (in Abwandlung der biblischen 'Kithara') dar; abgebildet bei Michels-Gebler 1984: 15, Abb. 2.

32 Schon Beichner 1954: 24–5 wies darauf hin, daß Jubal dargestellt sei, erbrachte aber keine ikonographischen Belege dafür. Die beiden Säulen werden auch von Ledoux 1987: 76 nicht erkannt, obwohl die Autorin ein ikonographisch interessantes Beispiel eines Freskos vom Anfang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts vorstellt, den *Triumph des Hl. Augustinus* in San Francesco al Prato in Pistoia, in dem anstatt Jubal Frau Musica selbst die beschriftete runde Marmorsäule und die Ziegelsäule in Form eines Pfeilers hält (*ibidem*: 75, Abb. 1). Diese beiden Attribute vermag Ledoux nicht zu identifizieren und spricht von "due frammenti architettonici", so daß sie in der Darstellung eine Beziehung zwischen den Künsten Musik und Architektur zu erkennen glaubt (76–7).

die Jubal laut Comestor die Erfindung der Musikkunst schrieb. Daß die Säulen in der Ikono-graphie Jubals schon früh zu den festen Attributen gehören, beweist eine neapolitanische Zeichnung, entstanden um 1329, in der *Chronologia magna* des Paolino Veneto. Sie zeigt in einem figürlich geschmückten Stammbaum die aus den Ehen Lamechs mit Zillah und Ada entsprungenen Kinder, darunter der so bezeichnete "Tubal", der als einzige Person in Ganzfigur und mit seinem Attribut, der Säule, erscheint, auf die er die Musikerfindung schreibt.³³

Eine andere, ebenfalls von Niccolò da Bologna angefertigte Miniatur bestätigt die genannte Identifizierung der Säulen im Mailänder Codex. Noch im selben Jahr 1354, als er die Mailänder Handschrift ausschmückte, hatte Niccolò auch die *In primam et secundam digesti novi partem commentaria* vom Bologneser Rechtsgelehrten Bartolo da Sassoferrato illuminiert. Die Allegorie des Triumphes des Hl. Augustinus enthält das gleiche Kompositionsschema der Tugenden- und Artes-Reihe wie die Mailänder Miniatur (Fig. 5).³⁴ Der hämmernde Jubal ist hier als "Tubal chaym" bezeichnet. Im Unterschied zur Mailänder Version sind die Säulen monumentaler gestaltet und außerdem mit den acht Tönen der Oktave und den Tonintervallen beschriftet. Sie entsprechen damit viel eher ihrem den Schriftquellen gemäßen Charakter von Denkmälern, welche die Musikkunst überliefern. Aus der Verwechslung von Jubal und Tubalkain und der verschiedenen Auffassung der Säulen läßt sich schließen, daß der Miniator erstens wohl die Legendentradition nicht gut kannte und zweitens seine mögliche Bildvorlage nur ungenau kopierte.

Für die Kompositionsschemata Niccolòs gibt es ein ganz konkretes Vorbild, dessen genaue Beziehung zum Mailänder Codex bis heute nicht ganz geklärt ist. Es handelt sich um die zwischen 1334 und 1343 entstandene Handschrift des Giovanni (Convenevole) da Prato, die Convenevole-Handschrift oder Ambrasener Codex nach dem ehemaligen Aufbewahrungsort (Schloß Ambras, Tirol) genannt wird. Es ist ein mit Miniaturen geschmücktes Lobgedicht auf Robert von Anjou, König von Neapel († 1343).³⁵ Unter den fast jede zweite Seite schmückenden Miniaturen, die das gleiche Programm bestehend aus Tugenden und Freien Künsten thematisieren, ist die Musik zusammen mit der Astronomie als Paar aufgestellt (Fig. 6). Zu Füßen von Frau Musica sitzt der inschriftlich so bezeichnete Tubal auf den Amboß hämmernd. Zu seinen Seiten ragen deutlich erkennbar die zwei Säulen auf: links die Ziegelsäule mit der Aufschrift "Dyapason", rechts die durch hellere Färbung unterschiedene marmorne Säule mit der Beschriftung "Diatason".³⁶ Beide Tituli sind als symbolische Abkürzungen für das gesamte Wissen um die musikalischen Gesetzmäßigkeiten zu verstehen, als deren Erfinder der biblische Patriarch angesehen wurde. Die enge Verbindung mit der Schmiede Tubalkains wird außer durch die Hämmer auch durch die Lederschürze, die Jubal trägt, betont.

Von der Convenevole-Handschrift abhängig ist offensichtlich auch die Federzeichnung in Bartolomeo di Bartoli da Bolognas Lobgedicht *Cantica ad gloriam [...] de virtutibus et*

33 Die Zeichnung befindet sich in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 4939, f. 8r.; sie ist abgebildet bei Degenhart und Schmitt 1973: 66, Abb. 82a.

34 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional; Ms. 197. Auch diese Miniatur ist signiert mit "Nicolaus de Bononia F.". Coletti 1934: 101–21 weist auf ein Fresko gleichen Themas (Hl. Augustinus) aus dem 14. Jahrhundert in Ferrara hin (Fig. 1), das engste Übereinstimmungen in den Motiven aufweist; eher wird es Niccolò als Vorbild gedient haben, als daß er, wie Coletti vermutet, als ausgesprochener Miniaturist selber der Autor des Freskos war.

35 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; Cod. Ser. n. 2639. Siehe von Sacken 1855: 222–4, dann erst von Schlosser 1896: 19–22, Taf. V. Von der Wiener Handschrift existieren zwei weitere Versionen in London (British Museum, Ms. 6 E IX) und Florenz (Codex Magliabechiano in der Biblioteca Nazionale, II. I. 27), die beide in den Motiven identisch sind. Die Datierung der Wiener Hs. zwischen 1334 und 1343 beruht auf einer schon von Frhr. von Sacken bemerkten (224) Textstelle, die Papst Benedikt XII. erwähnt und Robert von Anjou "senex" nennt. Die Datierung wird bestätigt von Degenhart und Schmitt 1973: 98, Anm. 131 b. Für weitere Literatur siehe Tezmen-Siegel 1985: 186–7.

36 Tezmen-Siegel (1985: 187) und Gibbons (1968: 96) halten trotzdem an Tubalkain fest!



5. Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna. *Tugenden und Artes Liberales*. Aus *In primam et secundam digesti novi partem commentaria*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. – Photo: Bibliothek

scientiis, entstanden vor 1349 für Bruzio Visconti von Mailand (Fig. 7).³⁷ Auf dem Sockel des Amboß vor dem hämmernden Patriarchen liest man wieder die irrtümliche Inschrift “Tubal cham”, während der Name des gemeinten biblischen Musikerfinders in der Subskription auf dem Sitzbanksockel als “Jubal” und “Tubal” geschrieben ist.³⁸ Auch in der Handschrift in Chantilly hat also der Illuminator, der nur die Malerei und die Inschriften ausführte, nicht aber den Text erfand, Tubal als eine Abkürzung für Tubalkain verstanden und deshalb den vermeintlich vollen Namen über der Figur angebracht, wie wir es schon bei Niccolò da Bologna gesehen haben. Die zwei Säulen tragen hier die vierzehn Tonintervalle von “acutus” bis “cromaticus” sowie die Noten der Oktave nach Guido von Arezzo.

Neben dieser ikonographischen Tradition hat sich im vierzehnten Jahrhundert offensichtlich ein zweiter Typus der Musikallegorie herausgebildet. Er unterscheidet sich von den bisherigen Kompositionen in der gotischen Nischenarchitektur, im Portativ (statt der Laute als dem Attribut der Frau Musica) sowie in der meistens fehlenden, durch urwüchsig langes Haar ersetzten Kopfbedeckung Jubals und seinem gegürtetem Gewand ohne Schmiedeschürze, das ihn dennoch insbesondere im Vergleich mit den anderen Artes-Erfindern als Handwerker kennzeichnet.

Eine italienische Handschrift aus der zweiten Hälfte des Trecento zeigt auf einer ganzen Blattseite diesen Typus (Fig. 8).³⁹ Jubal ist hier nicht so sehr als Schmied verstanden, sondern als Patriarch mit entsprechend langem Haar und Bart sowie mantelähnlichem Gewand. Die zwei Säulen sollen wieder die Authentizität der Erfindungsüberlieferung durch den biblischen *auctor* unterstreichen, die linke marmorne trägt die Tonintervalle in abgekürzter Form, die dunklere Ziegelsäule die Noten der Oktave.

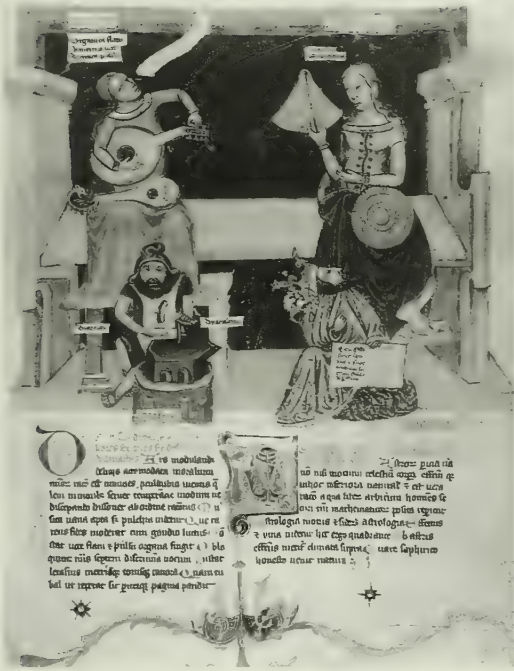
Kompositionell ähnlich gestaltet ist das 1365–68 entstandene Fresko Andrea Bonaiutos, gen. da Firenze, im Cappellone degli Spagnuoli (ehemals Kapitelsaal) von S. Maria Novella, Florenz (Fig. 9). Im Triumph des Thomas von Aquin an der Nordwand sitzt Frau Musica mit einem entsprechend dem theologischem Kontext des Freskoprogramms phantasievoll als Kirchengebäude gestalteten Portativ im Zentrum der Artes Liberales. Vor ihr hockt Jubal, als Patriarch urwüchsig behaart und in gegürtetem Gewand, mit dem Hammer in der Rechten weit ausholend.⁴⁰ Neu ist, daß die zwei Säulen hier gar nicht mehr auftauchen. Diese Variante, den biblischen Inventor ohne Säulen und nur noch mit Hammer und Amboß darzustellen, hat, zumindest im Florentiner

37 Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. lat. et ital. 1426. Der vollständige Titel lautet *Cantica ad gloriam et honorem magnifici militis domini Brutii, nati incliti ac illustris principis domini, vicecomitis de Mediolano, in qua tractatur de virtutibus et scientiis vulgarizatis*. Die erste ausführliche Untersuchung dieses Codex von Dorez 1904. Das Lobgedicht wird mit den von Niccolò da Bologna illuminierten Codices in Mailand und Madrid erstmals von Coletti 1934: Fig. 7 in ikonographischen Zusammenhang gebracht. Ein weiteres, sich in der Zeichnung und Anordnung der Motive nur geringfügig unterscheidendes Exemplar befindet sich heute in Rom, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica [F. N. 2831 (3480) r., zugehörig zum sogenannten *Taccuino degli uomini illustri*] publiziert von Venturi 1899: 355; er erkennt im römischen Codex Parallelen zu dem von Schlosser 1896 ikonographisch untersuchten Freskenzyklus Giustos in Padua und zum Ambraser Convevole-Band und schreibt den Codex deshalb Giusto zu. Heute wird der Codex aber zwischen 1450–60 datiert und als Kopie nach der Chantilly-Version gewertet, siehe Tezmen-Siegel 1985: 191, mit entsprechenden Literaturhinweisen.

38 Die Inschrift auf dem Sitzbanksockel direkt rechts neben der Figur des Jubal lautet: “Iste Tubal cantum vocumque simphonie / In geminis artem scripsit posuitque columnis / Aure Jubal varios feramenti denotat ictus / Pondera quoque librans consonantia queque facit” (“Dieser Tubal schrieb auf zwei Säulen die Musik und die Kunst des Zusammenklangs der Stimmen. Nach dem Gehör bezeichnete Jubal die verschiedenen Schläge des Werkzeugs [Hammers]. Auch wägte er die Gewichte [der Hämmer] ab, welche Konsonanzen auch immer sie entstehen ließen”). Hierin ist also die Erfindungslegende nach Comestor, vermischt mit Details der Pythagorasgeschichte, zusammengefaßt. Die Transkription erfolgte nach Dorez 1904: 43, dessen Bezeichnung als Hexameter aber auf zwei der Verse nicht zutrifft.

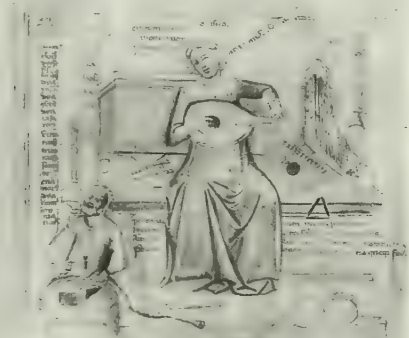
39 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. ital. 568 (Suppl. 535) fol. 1r.

40 Die zweifelhafte Identifizierung als Tubalkain erstmals bei Schlosser 1896: 44. Vgl. auch Romano 1976: 193; Gibbons 1968: 93; de Mirimonde 1968: 298; Tezmen-Siegel 1985: 194.



Amphitruo et Hermes
Cithara et organum
et organum et organum
et organum et organum
et organum et organum

Artes matulanda delius accomodam inueniam nūquā ratio est in
ueniens paul dūbie mēi qualem uimēibz frātē reimpitē matūm ne
discrepando dissonet ab ordine rationis.



hōne uaq̃a inueni per confundere. Et quēta ephē
melanchoma. Chome per simplicita. In son di laccē per
ebano e corda a ppar quāde lla accē. Chāfchana
In me nā nōstā memēcia. P. triumphū cūctōia In trombe cūctōia
mōlo se rebatū. Plei se balla e saluā. E. fa dāne alacra. Chōu in
fundere. Vēte a nōta rēpondere. Su di canēcia e de bella armonia. f
colte melodia. Chē balma e spūti elamēte cōcordia. Aq̃el de la
reccorda. si ten cōsona a lodu. aq̃u nō lēna. E abai chāu laglōia
In fēpe nōi tōno balla er alia. De mūfichā dēualū. Impietra pōne
fiam e fēnta rācon. Laue per pēco de mōllē e dāmbagēcia.

6. Anonym, *Astrologie und Musik*. Aus Giovanni (Convenevole) da Prato, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. – Photo: Bibliothek
7. Anonym, *Musica*. Aus *Cantica ad gloriam*. Château de Chantilly, Musée Condé. – Photo: Giraudon

Raum, Nachfolge in der Musica-Ikonographie gefunden, wie es die folgend angeführten Bildtafeln zeigen.

Ein spätes Beispiel aus dem Quattrocento, das Francesco Pesellino und Domenico Michelino zugeschriebene florentinische Cassonegemälde (1450–60) mit der Darstellung des Artes Liberales läßt eine Weiterentwicklung des Artes-Typus mit Nischenarchitektur erkennen (Fig. 10).⁴¹ Hier ist das gotische Maßwerk schon von den typischen antikisierenden Elementen der Renaissancebaukunst verdrängt worden. Jubal, wieder mit Mütze, sitzt nicht mehr auf dem Sockel des Thrones von Frau Musica, sondern eine Stufe tiefer vor der eigentlichen Sitzbank. Dadurch hat er mehr Freiraum erhalten, der ihn als eigenständige Figur ausweist. Sein einfaches gegürtetes Gewand soll im Vergleich zu den antikisierenden Philosophengewändern der übrigen Artes-Erfinder das Handwerkerkleid kennzeichnen.

Eine endgültige Emanzipation Jubals, der nicht mehr länger Attribut ist, sondern ein gleichwertiges und selbständiges Allegoriemotiv bildet, demonstriert eine andere Cassonetafel des Florentiners Giovanni dal Ponte (um 1435), die ebenfalls die Freien Künste zum Thema hat

41 Öl auf Holz; Birmingham Museum of Art/Alabama, Samuel H. Kress Collection (ehem. Slg. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Wien). Dank gilt Frau Dr. Donna H. Antoon vom Birmingham Museum für den Hinweis auf ein im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert entstandenes Fresko in der Kathedrale von Le Puy, das neben den erhaltenen Künsten Grammatik, Logik, Rhetorik auch die Musik auf einem Nischenthron mit Jubal in zeitgenössischer Gelehrtenracht zeigt; am Amboß ist der Name "Tubal" zu lesen. Die Cassone-Tafel wird zum erstenmal von Weisbach 1901: 90–3, Taf. XVII (hier auch die zugehörige zweite Cassone-Tafel mit der Darstellung der sieben Tugenden) dem Florentiner Maler Pesellino (1426–57) zugeschrieben.



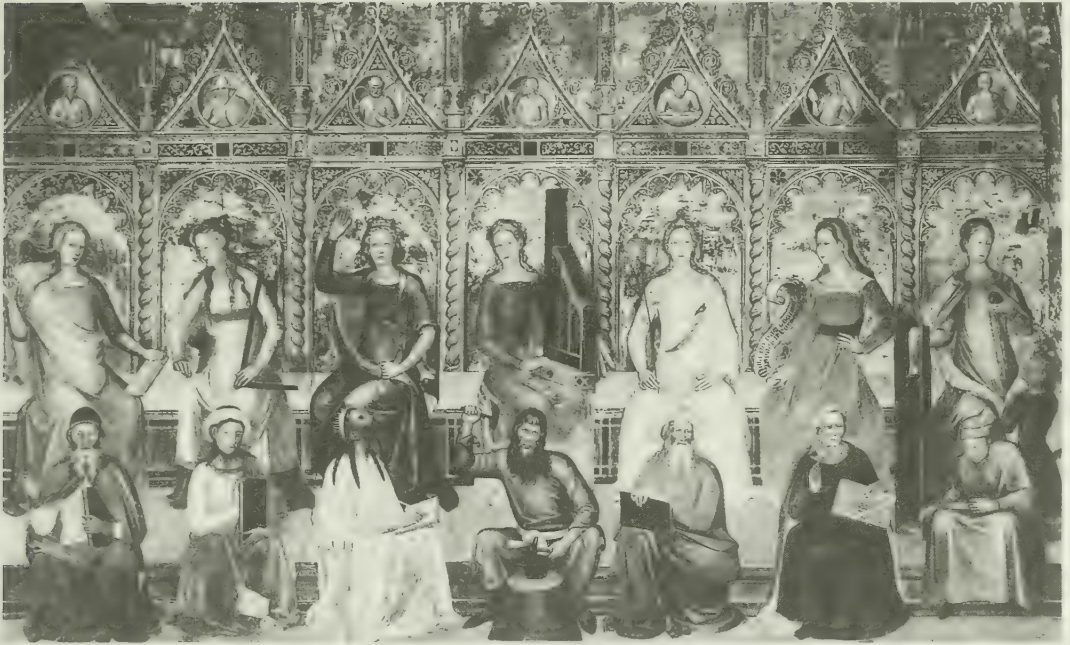
8. Anonym, *Musica*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. – Photo: Bibliothek

(Fig. 11).⁴² Neben die stehende Frau Musica tritt in gleicher Körpergröße Jubal, im Profil ihr zugewendet und wie sie sowie alle anderen Artespersonifikationen und ihre Vertreter in ungewöhnlicher Weise von Genien mit Lorbeer bekrönt. Sein Attribut, der eiserne Amboß, ist ihm nun, da er nicht mehr sitzt, in unrealistischer Weise umgehängt. Sein härenes, gegürtetes Gewand hebt sich wiederum von den übrigen Philosophenmänteln ab.

Einen der letzten monumentalen Artes-Zyklen schuf Bernardo Pinturricchio 1492–94 in der Sala delle Arti Liberali im Appartamento Borgia im Vatikan. Das Lünettenfeld mit der Musik zeigt Frau Musica auf einem Muschelnischenthron die zeitgenössische Lira da braccio streichend, sie wird gerahmt von zwei Gruppen musizierender Edelleute als Allegorie der *musica practica* und Männern in drei verschiedenen Lebensalterstufen als *musica speculativa* (Fig. 12). Im Vordergrund rechts sieht man im Profil einen Mann in gewohnter Weise mit zwei Hämmern auf einen Amboß schlagen; es wird sich gemäß der schriftlichen und ikonographischen Tradition um Jubal handeln, der die musikalischen Proportionen als Grundlage der Musiktheorie entdeckt. In keinem Fall ist hier Pythagoras gemeint (Moser 1938: 41; Egan 1961: 190), denn er erscheint wiederum in der Allegorie der Arithmetik als Repräsentant, wie es auch in den Trecento-Allegorien die Regel war.

Pinturricchios Komposition ist nicht nur eines der letzten monumentalen Musica-Bilder, sondern sie ist auch eine der letzten Musikallegorien, die Jubal als alleinige Inventor-Figur

42 Tempera auf Holz, 56: 115 cm; Madrid, Museo del Prado; Inv. 2844. Dank gilt Herrn Dr. Jesús Urrea vom Museo del Prado für den Hinweis auf den Bildnachweis im Ausstellungskatalog *Madrid 1990*: 146–52, Nr. 7. Auch hier liest man für den *inventor* der Musik „Tubalcaín“.



9. Andrea da Firenze, *Artes Liberales*. Detail. Florenz, S. Maria Novella, Capellone degli Spagnuoli. – Photo: Foto Marburg



10. Francesco Pesellino und Domenico Michelino, *Artes Liberales*. Birmingham, Museum of Art, Samuel H. Kress Coll. – Photo: Museum

traditionell mit Hammer und Amboß wiedergeben — die zwei Säulen fallen schon ab der zweiten Hälfte des Trecento weg, wie es am Florentiner Fresko zu sehen war.

Um 1500 verändert sich sowohl die Ikonographie Jubals als auch diejenige der *Ars Musica* allgemein: dem biblischen Stammvater wird nun Pythagoras an die Seite gestellt. Diese ikonographische Entwicklung geht mit den zeitlich etwas früher liegenden Aussagen der Musiktheoretiker parallel.

Die schon von Ugolino da Orvieto und Walter Odington vertretene Auffassung, Pythagoras sei als Entdecker der numerischen Proportionen der eigentliche Erfinder der Musik, Jubal als Erfinder der Musikinstrumente dagegen nur der Praktiker, läßt sich seit dem Ende des Quattrocento durch das ganze sechzehnte Jahrhundert hindurch verfolgen.

Adam von Fulda († 1505) nennt in seinem Traktat *De musica* (1490) zunächst die Entdeckung des Pythagoras und zitiert Boethius und Macrobius, schwenkt dann zu Jubal über, dessen Säulenlegende er unter Berufung auf Josephus erwähnt und sie zunächst für wahr hält. Im vierten Teil des Traktats widmet er zwar wieder Jubal einen kurzen Abschnitt, in dem er die Entdeckung der Harmonien in der Schmiede Tubalkains sowie die Säulengeschichte mit der üblichen irrtümlichen Bemerkung „Josephus dicit“ referiert. Pythagoras aber wird unter Anführung des Boethius und Nikomachos in einem viel längeren und detaillierteren Bericht, der die Schmiedeeexperimente und die Versuche mit den Saiten wiedergibt, als der eigentliche Musikwissenschaftler herausgestellt, welcher seine Erkenntnisse schriftlich festgehalten hat:

Referunt Graeci, Pythagoram philosophum musices artem ex malleorum sonitu primum perpendisse [...] Alii vero Jubal musicae inventorem extitisse, quod verius mihi videtur, aiunt: nam ante diluvium in duabus columnis per eum scripta fuisse dicitur [...] [Teil I, 7]; Jubal filium Lamech sonorum proportiones priorem invenisse, nemo est qui negat, cui frater erat Tubalcain nomine, primus faber aerarius [...] Postquam vero Pythagoras numeros adinvenit, cuique a toto tempore, dum viveret, numerus obedivit, sic, ut vi numerorum singula scire niteretur [...] Itaque mente sedatus & animo gavisus Pythagoras domum veniens, ibi per chordarum inaequalem tensionem, perque calamarum inaequalem longitudinem consonantias ad plenum reperit, & in volumine scripsit. [Teil IV, Prolog].⁴³

Kennt Adam von Fulda noch die Säulengeschichte, so nimmt gegen Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts die Kenntnis der scholastischen Texte bei den humanistischen Musiktheoretikern immer mehr ab.

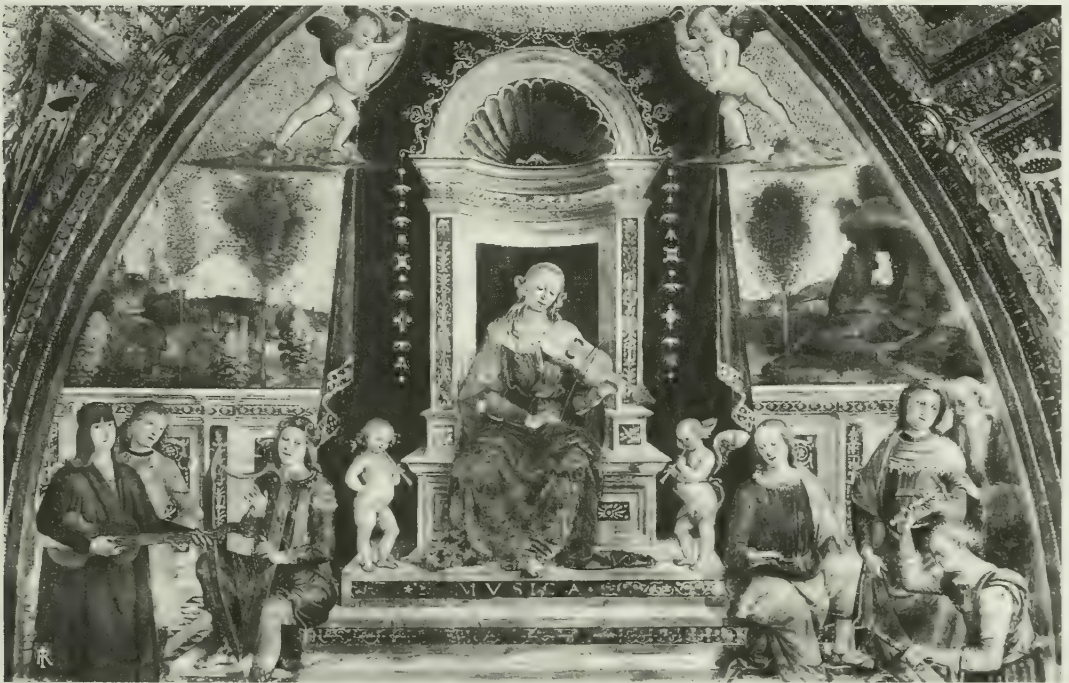
So meint beispielsweise der Komponist und Theoretiker Niccolò Burzio (1450–1518) im *Musices opusculum* (1487) sogar, der in Mantua tätige Musiktheoretiker Johannes Gallicus († 1473), sein Lehrer, habe selber die Geschichte der Erfindung Jubals in der Schmiede und ihre Niederschrift auf Säulen erdacht (Burzio bezieht sich hier auf Kapitel X des handschriftlich überlieferten Traktats *Ritus canendi vetustissimus et novus* von Gallicus). Denn es sei in Wahrheit Pythagoras, der, gemäß den antiken Schriften, mittels rationaler Untersuchungen die musikalischen Proportionen entdeckt und sie in Regeln gefaßt habe:

Unum sacre scripture testimonio scilicet Jubalem: Alterum videlicet Pythagoram grecorem ac latinorum monumentis approbatum. Primus etenim ut habetur primo Genesis septimus fuit ab Adam ex stirpe Chaim quem Moyses patrem canentium in organis scripsit. Repertorem tamen consonantiarum neque proportionum annotavit. Salva ergo reverentia Joannis Cartusiensis qui capitulo primo sue musices I, I, X eiusdem scripsit teste Josepho [...] Pythagoras igitur longo ex cogitatu: musicas has

43 „Die Griechen berichten, daß der Philosoph Pythagoras als erster die Musik anhand des Klangs der Hämmer untersucht habe [...] Andere freilich behaupten, daß Jubal der Erfinder der Musik gewesen sei, was mir wahrer erscheint: denn vor der Sintflut soll es, wie gesagt wird, von ihm auf zwei Säulen Geschriebenes gegeben haben [...]“; „Es gibt niemanden, der leugnet, daß Jubal, der Sohn des Lamech, als erster die Verhältnisse der Töne gefunden habe, welchem ein Bruder war mit Namen Tubalkain, der erste Schmied [...] Nachdem aber Pythagoras die Zahlen dazu erfunden hat, dem die Zahl Zeit seines Lebens gehorchte, so daß er sich bemühte, durch die Macht der Zahlen alles zu wissen [...] es folgt die gesamte Schmiedegeschichte über Pythagoras]. Deshalb ging Pythagoras mit gelassenem Geiste und erfreutem Herzen nach Hause, wo er durch unterschiedlich gespannte Saiten und durch unterschiedlich lange Rohre die Konsonanzen vollständig ermittelte und in einem Buch niederschrieb“, Adam von Fulda, *De musica*, Teil I, 7 und Teil IV, Prolog, *GSM* III, 340, 367–8. Der Bericht basiert teilweise ganz wörtlich auf den namentlich genannten Autoren Boethius, Macrobius und Nikomachos. Comestor wird gar nicht mehr erwähnt.



11. Giovanni dal Ponte, *Artes Liberales*. Detail: *Musica*. Madrid, Museo del Prado. – Photo: Museum



12. Bernardo Pinturicchio, *Musica*. Vatikan, Appartamento Borgia. – Photo: Alinari

consonantias speculatione: ac ratione deprehendit non nisi ex numerosum proportione produci. Eas postmodum regulis ac ratione apervit.⁴⁴

Hier zeigt sich deutlich ein vom Humanismus geprägter Renaissancegeist, dem die antiken Autoren die einzige Autorität sind. So ist Burzio es auch, der als erster im Zusammenhang mit der Juballegende auf den Irrtum des Säulenzitats aus Josephus aufmerksam macht:

Hoc etenim a Joanne cartusiense: ut reor: confictum est: vt honor potius divine scripture. quam humane tribueretur. cum nusquam apud Josephum inuenies: nisi tantum de filiis Seth qui in praedictis columnis ornatum rerum celestium disciplinam hoc est pertinentia ad astrologiam describere.⁴⁵

Nach seiner Darlegung der Pythagoraslegende zieht Burzio den Schluß: der Leser könne nun erkennen, daß Jubal nicht die Proportionen erfunden habe, wie ein gewisser (=Gallicus) meine und wie es auch viele Zeitgenossen herleierten, sondern nur die Blas- und Saiteninstrumente:

Potes igitur ex his lector recte precipere Iubalem non huiusmodi, ut quidam autumant proportiones, ac consonantias excogitasse, sed tantum in cythara et organo, ut multi etiam nostris temporibus aliquali ratione ducti decantasse.⁴⁶

In seinem Traktat *Toscanello in musica* (Venedig 1529; hier die 3. Auflage von 1539) zählt der bedeutende Florentiner Musiktheoretiker Pietro Aron im Kapitel "Degli inventori de la musica" zuerst alle mythologischen Gestalten der Musik von Amphion bis zu den Trojanern auf, um dann auf Pythagoras als "uomo mortale" (Sterblicher, im Gegensatz zu den mythischen Musikerfindern) zu kommen:

Pythagora in fine fu diligente inquisitore & messe insieme le consonanze de la musica & quello che altri temerariamente volevano pendere dal dubbioso & infidele arbitrio de gli orecchi a certo & fermo giuditio de la mente ridusse, tolta la puova da gli martegli de fabbri & da le stensione de le chorde.⁴⁷

Aron begründet ganz ähnlich wie Nikomachos die Entdeckung des Pythagoras ausdrücklich damit, daß in Anbetracht des unzuverlässigen Gehörs eine numerische Hilfe zur Bestimmung der Töne gefunden werden mußte. Den biblischen Musikerfinder erwähnt Aron erst ganz zum

44 "Der eine ist nämlich nach dem Zeugnis der Heiligen Schrift Jubal. Der andere ist Pythagoras, bezeugt in griechischen und römischen Schriften. Wie zu Beginn der Genesis berichtet, war Jubal der siebte Nachkomme Adams aus dem Stamme Kains, den Moses den Vater der Orgelmusik nennt. Aber er vermerkt nicht, daß er der Erfinder der Konsonanzen und Verhältnisse war. Ohne dem Ansehen Johannes' des Kartäusers nahezutreten, der im ersten Kapitel seiner *Musica I*, I, 10 schreibt, daß nach dem Zeugnis des Josephus ...[es folgt die Schmiede-Säulen-Legende des Jubal]. Pythagoras also hat nach langem Nachdenken durch Beobachtung und Verstand entdeckt, daß die musikalischen Konsonanzen von nichts anderem als von numerischen Verhältnissen produziert werden. Später hat er sie durch Regeln und Berechnung zugänglich gemacht", Burzio, *Musices opusculum*: Kap. 11, fol. b^v r. und v. Vgl. die engl. Ausgabe von Miller 1983: 42–4, die teilweise sehr frei übersetzt. Der Traktat *Ritus canendi vetustissimus et novus* des in Mantua tätigen Gallicus, auf den Burzio sich bezieht, in CSM IV, 298–469. Gallicus hat nicht nur, wie McKinnon 1978: 13 richtig bemerkt, keine Nachfolger gehabt, sondern er stand mit der Verteidigung Jubals als dem eigentlichen Musikerfinder gegenüber den antiken Schriften überhaupt vereinzelt in seiner Zeit.

45 "Dieses ist allerdings, wie ich annehme, von Johannes dem Kartäuser erfunden worden, um den göttlichen Schriften mehr Ehre zu erweisen als den menschlichen, da du es [=die Säulengeschichte] nirgendwo bei Josephus findest, außer bei den Söhnen des Seth, die auf den oben genannten Säulen die Ausstattung und die Kunst der Himmelsdinge, das ist die Astrologie, schrieben", Burzio, *Musices opusculum*: Kap. 11, fol. b^v v.

46 "Aus diesem kann der Leser also richtig erkennen, daß Jubal nicht die Verhältnisse und Konsonanzen erfunden hat, sondern er spielte nur die Kithara und Orgel, so wie es viele auch in unserer Zeit aus irgendeinem Grund irreführt herleiern", *ibidem*.

47 Buch I, Kap. 2, fol. aⁱⁱⁱⁱv. "Schließlich war Pythagoras der fleißige Untersucher und stellte die musikalischen Konsonanzen zusammen, und jener, der andere, die verwegenerweise von der zweifelhaften und untreuen Willkür der Ohren abhängen wollten, auf das sichere und feste Urteil des Geistes reduzierte, indem er den Beweis von den Hämmern der Schmiede und der Spannung der Saiten nahm."

Schluß und weiß von ihm nur, daß er gemäß Moses der Musikerfinder ist, also ebenfalls wieder nur die Fakten, die in der Genesis zu finden sind.

Eine verwandte Einstellung zeigt sich in Stephano Vanneos Traktat *Recanetum de musica aurea* (1533). Hier wird ebenfalls die Schmiede- und Säulenlegende überhaupt nicht mehr genannt, sondern der in Rom tätige Musiktheoretiker bezeichnet "Tubal" nur lapidar als "pater canentium cithara & organo" (I, 1, fol. 4r–4v); die pythagoreische Entdeckung wird dagegen ausführlich erzählt. Vanneo kennt also nur noch die Genesisstelle, nicht aber mehr die scholastische Überlieferung mit der Schmiede- und Säulengeschichte. Für die Wiedergabe der Pythagorasgeschichte orientiert sich der Autor an Boethius: sowohl die Experimente, die zur Entdeckung der Intervalle führen als auch die Proportionen selbst werden detailliert beschrieben und mit einem Diagramm illustriert, das die proportionalen Zahlen 6, 8, 9 und 12 enthält.⁴⁸ Weist Aron nur kurz und allgemein auf die pythagoreischen Versuche mit den Saiten hin, so betont Vanneo eigens das Arbeiten mit der Lyra und damit den Bezug der mathematischen Theorie zur klingenden Musik:

Hic igitur Pythagoras tanti archani compos. numeros invenit. ex quibus dulces orientur soni hinc certe fides, seu chordae in citharis observata.⁴⁹

Mit einem Saiteninstrument sind die "süßen Töne" überhaupt erst hörbar zu machen, deren mathematische Perfektion Pythagoras als erster durch seine Entdeckung der ihnen zugrunde liegenden numerischen Regeln erkannt hat. Hier liegt damit eine im Laufe der Jahrhunderte gewachsene Variante des Berichts des Nikomachos, des Urhebers der Pythagoraslegende, vor, denn nur er erwähnt ein versaitiges Instrument, das Pythagoras allerdings erst nach seinen Experimenten konstruierte.

Generell scheint den Musiktheoretikern des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts für die Pythagorasgeschichte die Beziehung zwischen den Klängen der Hämmer und denen der gespannten Saiten des Instruments wichtig gewesen zu sein. Diesen Aspekt spiegelt auch Dossos Bild wider, worauf später noch näher eingegangen wird.

4. Pythagoras als *inventor proportionis musicae* in der Kunst der Renaissance

Eine Holzschnittillustration in einem Traktat des bedeutendsten humanistischen Musiktheoretikers des ausgehenden Quattrocento, Franchino Gafurio (1451–1522), macht die frühen Auswirkungen dieser Entwicklung der *inventor musicae*-Tradierung auf die Ikonographie besonders deutlich (Fig. 13). In seiner Abhandlung *Theorica musice* (1492) nennt Gafurio zunächst Jubal und Pythagoras nebeneinander als Erfinder der Musik (Buch I, 1), um dann ausführlich die Entdeckungen des Pythagoras in der Schmiede und die folgenden Experimente zu schildern (Buch I, 8), für die er sich namentlich auf Boethius beruft. Die Bevorzugung des griechischen Mathematikers als *auctor* der Fixierung musikalischer Regeln wird insbesondere an der Holzschnittillustration deutlich. Sie ist als didaktische visuelle Umsetzung, auf die Gafurio im Text eigens hinweist, auf einer eigenen Seite recto neben dem Text angebracht. Hier ist

48 *Ibidem*, fol. 5r. Noch Gioseffo Zarlino setzt sich in den *Istitutioni harmoniche* (Venedig 1558) kritisch mit den Intervallen und der mathematischen Voraussetzung gemäß der Überlieferung durch Boethius und Macrobius auseinander, Teil II, 2 (71) "Per qual ragione gli Antichi nelle loro Harmonie non usassero le conconanze imperfette & Pitagora vietava il passare oltre la Quadrupla" und II, 3 (73) "Dubbio sopra l'inventione di Pitagora."

49 *Recanetum* 1533: I, 3, fol. 6r. "Pythagoras also, teilhaftig eines so großen Geheimnisses, erfand die Zahlen, aus welchen die süßen Klänge entstehen, von hier stammen sicherlich die Saiten oder Chordae auf der Kithara ab."

Pythagoras dreimal, und zwar bei verschiedenen wissenschaftlichen Versuchen, darunter einmal mit seinem Schüler Philolaos, zu sehen, der inschriftlich so bezeichnete Jubal nur einmal.⁵⁰ Entgegen der ikonographischen Tradition des Trecento ist er passiv, den Hammerschlägen lauschend, dargestellt. Als der eigentliche Musiktheoretiker, welcher die Grundlagen der "süß klingenden Musik" (Ugolino da Orvieto) schuf, ist ganz eindeutig Pythagoras aufgefaßt.

Die numerischen Grundlagen der musikalischen Harmonie, die in der Philosophie der Pythagoreer eine überragende Bedeutung hatten, bilden den Kern der Pythagoraslegende. Für die Humanisten und Künstler der Renaissance (z. B. Leonardo, mit dem Gafurio in Mailand bekannt wurde) mit ihrem gesteigerten mathematischen Interesse, das sich auch in der Proportionslehre widerspiegelt, gab die aus der Antike überlieferte Schmiedeerzählung ganz konkrete, mathematisch nachvollziehbare Angaben an die Hand. Die Jubalüberlieferung dagegen enthält weder Zahlenangaben noch Experimentschilderungen, war also für Wissenschaftler wie Gafurio oder Künstler wie Leonardo nutzlos.⁵¹

Das mathematische Interesse Gafurios wird auch im Holzschnitt sichtbar: sämtliche Gläser, Glocken, Saitengewichte und Flöten sind mit den proportionalen Zahlen 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 16 gekennzeichnet, welche die harmonische Tonleiter ergeben; es sind die sechs Konsonanzen (griech. *symphoniai*; von den Römern wurde dieser Terminus übernommen), die die menschliche Stimme hervorbringen kann.

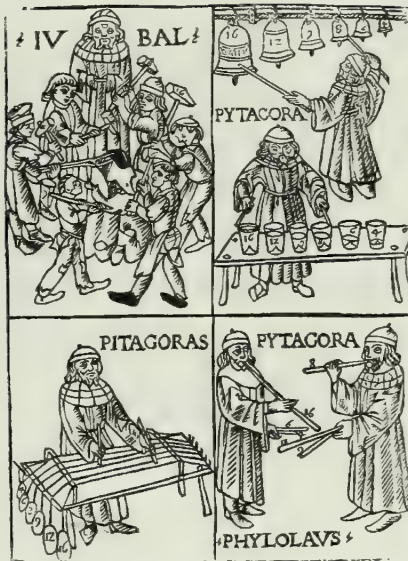
Für die gemeinsame Darstellung von Jubal und Pythagoras gibt es in der Ikonographie keine Vorläufer. Sicherlich ist der Holzschnitt als eine eigene Bilderfindung Gafurios zu werten, denn er weist ausdrücklich auf den Holzschnitt als illustrierende Textergänzung hin. Das Konzept, beide Inventores gegenüberzustellen, hat allerdings eine Nachfolge gefunden.

Die Voraussetzung, daß der Auftraggeber oder der Künstler nur noch den alttestamentlichen Jubalbericht, nicht aber mehr die mittelalterliche Tradition gekannt haben, möchte man auch für das folgende Bildbeispiel annehmen. Die Grisaille-Bemalung eines Cembalo-Deckels in der Sammlung Liechtenstein (ehemals Polidoro da Caravaggio zugeschrieben), um 1520 in Oberitalien entstanden, weist eine ungewöhnlich komplexe Ikonographie auf (Fig. 14).⁵² Vor einer Arkatur, in deren Mitte Frau Musica thront, ist am linken Bildrand Pythagoras in antikischer Kleidung und mit langem Haar wiedergegeben. Auf dem Tisch sind Attribute wie die Waage (sie weist auf das Abwiegen der Hämmer hin), Zirkel, Richtscheit, Blas-, Tasten- und Saiteninstrumente wiedergegeben. Daneben hämmern drei Genien auf einen Amboß. Diese Szene ist als eine Abbeviatur der Schmiede zu verstehen, in der Pythagoras den Hammerschlägen lauschte. Gleichzeitig symbolisieren die Genien die göttliche Eingebung, die Pythagoras zu der Entdeckung der Intervalle befähigte. Rechts, ihm gegenüber, ist Jubal plaziert. Er trägt die bekannte Mütze und sitzt schreibend am Tisch. Auf dem Tisch und daneben sind ebenfalls Instrumente

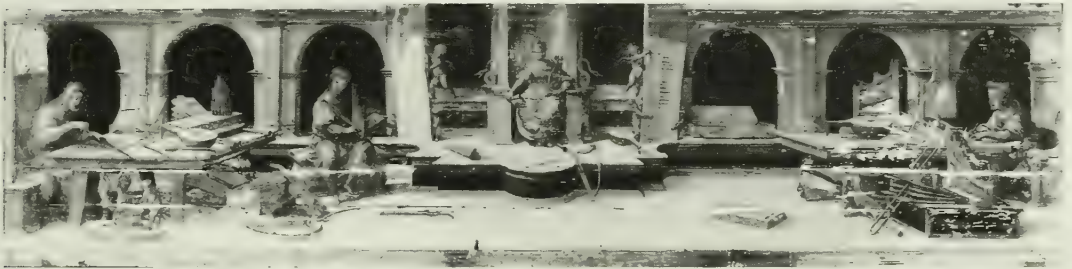
50 Den Holzschnitt schließt Gafurio direkt an die Säulengeschichte an (fol. b^{vr}) und weist auf ihn eigens hin (fol. b^v): "Harum quidem exquisitarum proportionum eductarumque consonantiarum formas demonstrat hec subiecta figura" ("Die folgende bildliche Darstellung demonstriert die Formen der genauen Proportionen und herausgefundenen Konsonanzen"). Zur Musiktheorie des Philolaos vgl. van der Waerden 1979: 389–91.

51 Für die Diskussion um die Harmonie- und Proportionslehre in der Renaissance und ihre praktische Umsetzung in den bildenden Künsten siehe Wittkower 1983: 103–10 und v. Naredi-Rainer 1989: 11–32. Es ist anzunehmen, daß Gafurio außer mit Leonardo (1452–1519) auch mit dem Mathematiker Fra Luca Pacioli († 1514) bekannt war, der durch seine Traktate *De divina proportione* (Venedig 1498) und *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni e propotionalità* (Venedig 1494) wiederum großen Einfluß auf Leonardos Kunsttheorie ausübte. Zu Leben und Lehre Gafurios siehe Fano: 49–62; ders. 1971: 201–2.

52 Öl auf Holz, 29: 118 cm; Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Schloß Vaduz; Inv. Nr. 202. Laut Mitteilung von Frau Dr. Eugster, Fürstliche Sammlungen, wird das seit 1712 im Nachlaßinventar des Fürsten Johann Adam I. erscheinende Tafelbild nicht mehr unter Polidoro da Caravaggio in den Sammlungen geführt. Das freundlicherweise zur Verfügung gestellte Foto zeigt den Zustand nach Abnahme der Übermalungen.



13. Franchino Gafurio, *Theorica musice* (1492). – Photo: Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek



14. Anonym (ehem. Polidoro da Caravaggio zugeschrieben), *Allegorie der Musik*. Schloß Vaduz, Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein. – Photo: Preute, Vaduz

der verschiedenen Kategorien wiedergegeben, jedoch kein Attribut, das auf die Schmiede- oder Säulenlegende und damit auf die Intervallentdeckung Jubals hinweist. Das heißt, der biblische Inventor ist hier, gemäß dem Genesistext, nur als “pater canentium cithara et organo”, als Praktiker aufgefaßt. Unterstrichen wird diese Aussage durch Jubals schreibende Tätigkeit, die angesichts des geöffneten Mundes das Komponieren eines Liedes andeutet.

Das für einen Cembalodeckel außergewöhnlich detailreiche und durchdachte Bildprogramm vereint also allegorisch Theorie *und* Praxis zu einer vollkommenen Musikkunst, die als Ideal dem Cembalisten vor Augen stehen sollte.⁵³

Im Gegensatz zur italienischen Musiktheorie, die sich in der Frage der “invenzione della musica” fast ausschließlich mit Pythagoras beschäftigte, hatte sich nördlich der Alpen eine eher

53 Vgl. de Mirimonde 1968: 309, der beide Musikerfinder nur als Theoretiker erkennt.

christlich-humanistische Theorie der Musikerfindung herausgebildet. Sie widmet ihre Aufmerksamkeit hauptsächlich Jubal, obwohl eine eindeutige und konkrete Entscheidung für den biblischen Stammvater als einzig wahren Musikerfinder hier nicht immer erkennbar ist.

Der Josquinschüler Adrian Petit Coclico schreibt in seinem Traktat *Compendium musices* (1552), daß von den Erfindern der musikalischen Zahlenproportionen "Tubal Haebraeus" der erste gewesen sei, dem andere später nachgefolgt seien (Teil I, fol. Bⁱⁱⁱⁱr und Bⁱⁱⁱⁱv). Unter ihnen wird aber Pythagoras nicht genannt.

Ebenso läßt der protestantische Musiker Hermann Finck in der *Practica musica* (1556) Pythagoras unerwähnt; Tubal dagegen wird als der wahre *inventor musicae* gepriesen, der seine Erkenntnisse von Gott erhalten habe.⁵⁴

Nicht nur die Musiktheorie, sondern auch die Ikonographie, die im sechzehnten Jahrhundert nördlich der Alpen entstand, unterscheidet sich von der in Italien verbreiteten. Denn die dort vorherrschende bildliche Bevorzugung des Pythagoras ist hier — bis auf wenige Ausnahmen wie beispielsweise der Illustration in Martin Agricolas *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg 1528) — nicht gegeben.

Eine ungewöhnlich ausführliche Darstellung der Juballegende zeigt ein Holzschnitt, der die Musik in enzyklopädischer Weise allegorisiert (Fig. 15). Diese Illustration findet sich am Anfang des fünften, der Musik gewidmeten Buches mit dem Titel "De principiis musice" in Gregor Reischs *Margarita philosophica* (2. Auflage 1504). Das Buch selbst ist wiederum in zwei Traktate untergliedert, von denen der erste die "musica speculativa", der andere die "musica practica" behandelt. Im Zentrum des Bildes hält Frau Musica eine Tafel mit den im Notensystem eingezeichneten Tonintervallen; links von ihr werden die verschiedenen instrumentalen Kategorien der praktischen Musik sowie der als "poeta" bezeichnete Komponist vorgestellt; der Mann im Vordergrund mit erhobenem Stock personifiziert den Tanz (Schmid 1994: 253). Im rechten Bilddrittel, durch einen Pfeiler von der "Musikergruppe" getrennt, ist eine Schmiedeszene sichtbar: ein Mann mit offenem Hemd und Lederschürze hämmert ein Stück Eisen. Hinter seinem Kopf ist der Titulus "TVBAL" angebracht. Vor der Schmiede steht ein bärtiger Mann mit Hut und wägt ein paar Hämmer ab, wodurch er als zur Schmiedeszene gehörig gekennzeichnet ist. Die entsprechende Textstelle bei Reisch lautet folgendermaßen:

Iipse [=Tubal filium Lamech] fuit pater canentium cithara & organo. Eo primus musicam invenit. Et eam in duabis columnis latericia sc[ilicet] et lapidea posteris reliquit [...] Pythagoras sonorum proportionibus experimento didicit [...] Attum Petrus Comestor in historia scholastica id a dicto Tubale factitatum, sed a Grecis Pythagore fabulose attributum autumat. Habuit enim Tubal fratrem qui artem ferrariam invenit, quo fabricante Tubal ex malleorum proportionibus dicto modo consonantias reperit.⁵⁵

Bisher wurde der Namenstitulus als Tubalkain gelesen, also als Namensbeischrift für den Schmied aufgefaßt. Neben jener Lesart ist aber durchaus auch die Möglichkeit denkbar, daß die

54 Fol. Aⁱ r–v. Finck spricht statt von zwei Säulen von "duabus tabulis, lateritia scilicet & marmorea" ("auf zwei Tafeln, die eine aus Ziegeln, die andere aus Marmor"). Da die gesamte Schmiedegeschichte fehlt, hat Finck de facto nur die beiden von ihm selbst genannten Quellen, die Bibel und Josephus, gekannt, nicht aber die scholastische Tradition.

55 Buch V, Tractatus I, 4, fol. nⁱⁱⁱr–v. "Er [Tubal, der Sohn des Lamech] war selbst der Vater der Saiten- und Blasmusik. Deshalb hat er als erster die Musik erfunden. Und diese überlieferte er der Nachwelt auf zwei Säulen, nämlich auf einer aus Ziegeln, einer aus Naturstein [...] Pythagoras untersuchte durch Experimente die Verhältnisse der Töne [...: es folgt die gesamte Pythagoras-Schmiede-Legende nach Boethius] Aber dann sagt Petrus Comestor in seiner Historia Scholastica, daß dies von besagtem Tubal bewerkstelligt worden sei, aber von den Griechen dem Pythagoras in märchenhafter Weise zugeschrieben worden war. Es hatte nämlich der Tubal einen Bruder, welcher die Schmiedekunst erfand; während dieser arbeitete, fand der Tubal aus dem Verhältnis der Hämmer auf besagte Weise die Konsonanzen."



15. Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1504). – Photo: Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

Insschrift tatsächlich Tubal (=Jubal) meint, wie ihn Comestor mehrfach nennt (man beachte, daß er dagegen den Namen Tubalkain nirgendwo erwähnt). Dann wäre sie nicht als Namenstext für den Schmied gedacht, der wie im Gafurio-Holzschnitt (Fig. 13) als Handwerker wohl eher eine anonyme Randfigur ist, sondern für den Mann mit der Waage, über dessen Kopf sich kein Platz für eine Insschrift befand.

Demnach ist Tubal im Vordergrund die Hauptfigur der Szene, die den wesentlichen Teil des Experiments demonstriert, nämlich die Erkenntnis, daß die in der Schmiede wahrgenommenen Klangunterschiede von den jeweiligen Gewichten der Hämmer abhängig sind. Das Motiv des experimentierenden Abwägens ist wahrscheinlich der Pythagoraslegende nach Boethius entlehnt, dessen Text Reisch ebenfalls kennt. Die Darstellung Tubals mit hohem Barett und Mantel entspricht dagegen genau dem Typus, der sich in den seit etwa 1470 gedruckten typologischen Bilderbibeln und Trostspiegeln herausgebildet hatte. Solche Illustrationen, welche die Schmiedeszene mit Jubal und Tubalkain zeigen (Oppermann 1925: 297–8; Abb. 1), könnten dem Holzschneider als Vorlage gedient haben.

Trotz der im Vergleich zu den Trecento-Darstellungen sehr detailreich geschilderten Jubalgeschichte gibt selbst Reisch als christlich-humanistischer Theoretiker keinem der beiden Inventores den Vorzug und hält die Frage, ob nun Pythagoras oder Jubal der eigentliche Erfinder der Musik sei, für unlösbar:

Probe facis cum has disceptationes ad propositum parum aut nihil facientes non resolvis [...] tali quo Tubal sive Pythagoras consonantias invenit in quattuor malleis. Sint itaque in proposito hi malleis certis signati ponderibus.⁵⁶

56 *Ibidem*, und Buch V, I, 9, fol. n^{um}v. Fortsetzung des zuvor genannten Quellenzitats: "Und du handelst recht, wenn du diese Erörterungen, die zum Ziel wenig oder nichts beitragen, nicht weiter verfolgst [...] auf solche Weise, wie Tubal oder Pythagoras durch vier Hämmer die Konsonanzen fand. Es sollen daher diese Hämmer mit bestimmten Gewichten bezeichnet vor Augen stehen."

5. Analyse des Florentiner Gemäldes

a) Jubal, Tubalkain oder Pythagoras?

Damit komme ich zum Kernproblem von Dosso Dossis Gemälde (Fig. 1) zurück: Welcher der *inventores musicae* ist dargestellt und wie sind die zwei weiblichen Figuren zu deuten? In welchem Verhältnis stehen sie zur hämmernden Person?

Anhand der verschiedenen Traditionsstränge in der Musiktheorie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance ist nochmals festzuhalten, daß der Schmied Tubalkain — bis auf eine mir bekannte Ausnahme⁵⁷ — weder in der Bibel noch in der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Überlieferung mit der Musik in irgendeinen direkten Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Sofern die scholastische Überlieferung in der frühen Neuzeit überhaupt noch bekannt war, taucht Tubalkain nur als Stichwortgeber für den Bericht über Jubal auf. Die Deutung des von Dosso inszenierten Bildthemas als "Tubalkain" ist daher nicht haltbar. Sie basiert auf zweierlei Fehlschlüssen. Einmal ist Tubalkain traditionell nicht der Erfinder der Musik, und die Darstellung der Erfindung der Schmiedekunst hat Dosso sicherlich nicht im Sinn gehabt. Zweitens kann auch Jubal nicht gemeint sein, denn zu sehr unterscheidet sich Dossos Komposition von den traditionellen *inventor*-Darstellungen. Der heidnisch-antike Genius, die beiden nackten Frauen und die Nacktheit des Schmieds lassen sich mit einem alttestamentlichen Bildthema nicht vereinbaren. Bedenkt man außerdem die dargelegte Entwicklung in der *inventor*-Theorie seit dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, die Jubal ganz hinter Pythagoras zurücktreten läßt, so läßt sich nur der Schluß ziehen, daß im Bild der antike Musiktheoretiker und Mathematiker *Pythagoras* dargestellt ist. Diese Identifizierung belegen auch verschiedene Motive im Bild selbst, wie im Folgenden ausgeführt wird.

Da sind zunächst die drei Hämmer, deren römische Zahlen in der Ikonographie des Musikerfinders eine Neuheit bedeuten, sieht man von den Hämmern mit arabischen Ziffern im Holzschnitt zu Gafurios *Theorica musice* ab (Fig. 15). Die Hämmer an sich sind unverzichtbares Attribut und Identitätsmerkmal des *inventor musicae*, wie es schon in den spätmittelalterlichen Darstellungen der Fall war. Für die Musiktheoretiker der Renaissance genügte bei Erwähnung der Musikentdeckung offensichtlich der Hinweis auf die Hämmer, ohne überhaupt einen Erfinder zu nennen. Nicola Vicentino beispielsweise nennt keinen Namen, jedoch ist für ihn die Entdeckung der "musica" identisch mit der Geschichte von den Hammerklängen (I, 2: "inventione della Musica ritrovata à caso con li martelli"). Wegen ihres Signalcharakters hat deshalb auch Dosso die Hämmer exponiert ins Bild gesetzt und zusätzlich mit Zahlzeichen versehen. Gut lesbar sind die römischen Zahlen XII des Hammers vorne am Boden und VIII desjenigen unterhalb des Amboß. Es sind die bekannten proportionalen Zahlen, aus deren Relationen sich unter anderem die musikalischen Intervalle Diatessaron und Diapason bilden lassen. Das schon von Parigi (1940: 276) und Gibbons (1968: 96) als nicht mehr entzifferbar bewertete Zeichen auf dem Hammer in der Hand des Pythagoras kann ehemals nur eine der zwei anderen Proportionszahlen VI oder IX bedeutet haben, von denen die Ziffer I noch übrig ist.⁵⁸ Die

57 Bei Biagio Rossetti, *Libellus de rudimentis musices* (1529) liest man (fol. aⁱⁱⁱr): "Quis fuit inventor musices? moyses scribit hunc fuisse tubalcaym ante diluvium, sed post diluvium philosophi asserunt extitisse pythagoram, qui sonitu malleorum & cordarum extensarum percussione, musicam repperit." Bezeichnenderweise kennt Rossetti die Pythagoraslegende recht gut, die mittelalterliche Jubalgeschichte dagegen nicht, was der allgemeinen Tendenz in der Musiktheorie des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts entspricht.

58 Slim 1990: 72 liest ein "L" und möchte darin eine Anspielung auf den Namen "Tubal" (meint hier Tubalkain) sehen.

Intervallzeichen, direkt verbunden mit den Hämmern, verweisen auf die Schmiedegeschichte mit den Hammerexperimenten und dem Resultat, daß die jeweilige Tonhöhe von den Gewichten der Hämmer abhängig ist. Die im Hause des Pythagoras folgenden Versuche mit Hilfe der gespannten Saiten, die letztlich zur Entwicklung des Saiteninstrumentes mit Wirbeln führten, werden durch die genau unterhalb des Amboß liegende Lira da braccio repräsentiert. Wie schon oben dargelegt, ist den Musiktheoretikern der Renaissance die Beziehung zwischen Pythagoras' Hammerversuchen und dem "Messen" der Töne an den gespannten Saiten, insbesondere der Lyra (Vanneo) besonders wichtig gewesen. Gafurio (1518) ist sogar der Meinung, daß nur durch Pythagoras' Untersuchungen die Kenntnis von der siebensaitigen Lyra bis in die Neuzeit tradiert wurde:

Post primum illud Mercurii tetracordum nonnulli reliquas chordas ad eptachordum usque texerunt. Cuius quidem septem chordarum lyrae e doctus ab ipso Mercurio Orpheus nullum studiose memorandum facimus apposuit. Inde antiqua illa septem chordarum lyra ni Pythagoras in ipsa (ut in reliquis) studiosus operam navasset ad nostra forte usque tempora pervenisset.⁵⁹

Auch Vincenzo Galilei (1581) ist hier zu nennen, der annimmt, daß Pythagoras allein von der viersaitigen Lyra (Phorminx), deren Intervalle Boethius beschreibt, ausgehen konnte, um die numerischen Verhältnisse der Töne zu finden; die Akkorde der Hammerschläge habe er mehr aus Zufall entdeckt:

Vuole Boethio che dalla prima & piu grave corda alla seconda, vu fusse una Diatessaron: da questa alla penultima un Tuono: la quale con la piu acuta risonava per un'altra Diatessaron: dalla cui dispositione di corde, potria facilmente essere che Pitagora Samio andasse col divino suo intelletto filosofando le musicali proporzioni: da loro le ragioni de numeri traesse. alludendo poi tale inventione haver tratta dal peso & suono de percossi martelli su l'incudine da alcuni fabbri, piuttosto à caso che pensatamente.⁶⁰

Daß Galilei die Pythagoras-Geschichte in sein Kapitel über die antike Lyra einflacht, macht einmal mehr deutlich, wie sehr Pythagoras als Entdecker der mathematischen Musikgesetze und das Musikinstrument mit Saiten, die aufgrund ihrer unterschiedlichen Spannung besonders geeignet sind für Proportionsstudien, zusammengehören.

Es schließt sich hier die Frage an, warum Dosso unter den zeitgenössischen Saiteninstrumenten aber gerade eine Lira da braccio und nicht eine Laute, ebenfalls ein Wirbelinstrument, ausgewählt hat. Hierfür sind mehrere Gründe denkbar. Einmal galt die Lira da braccio mit ihren Melodie- und freischwingenden Bordunsaiten in der Renaissance als Nachfahrin der antiken Lyra und ist — nicht zuletzt aufgrund der terminologisch-organologischen Analogie — in der Bildkunst häufig als Substitut für die antike Leier gebraucht.⁶¹ Zweitens übertraf sie die Laute in

59 Buch I. 4. "Die erste viersaitige Lyra Merkurs haben einige zu einer zehnsaitigen erweitert. Orpheus, unterrichtet von Merkur selbst, vermied es, den sieben Saiten der Lyra etwas hinzuzufügen. Jene siebensaitige Lyra wäre nur durch Zufall auf unsere Zeit gekommen, wenn nicht der gelehrte Pythagoras sie (und andere Instrumente) als Hilfsmittel benutzt hätte."

60 *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*, 1581: 127. "[Zur viersaitigen Lyra:] Nach Boethius ist von der ersten und tieferen Saite zur zweiten eine Diatessaron; von dieser zur vorletzten ein ganzer Ton; diejenige mit der höchsten Saite klingt durch eine weitere Diatessaron: von deren Anordnung der Saiten ausgehend, kann es leicht sein, daß der Samier Pythagoras mit seinem göttlichen Geist über die musikalischen Verhältnisse philosophierend spazierend; von ihnen leitete er die Ursachen der Zahlen her. Ich spiele darauf an, daß er solche Erfindung gemacht hat aufgrund des Gewichtes und Klanges der Hämmer, die von einigen Schmieden auf den Amboß geschlagen wurden, eher aus Zufall als mit Vorbedacht."

61 Zur Bewertung der Lira da braccio in der Renaissance vgl. Winternitz 1979: 86–8 und 150–65; vgl. auch Silva 1984: 363–4. Zur Lira des Apoll vgl. Osthoff 1987: 160–1.



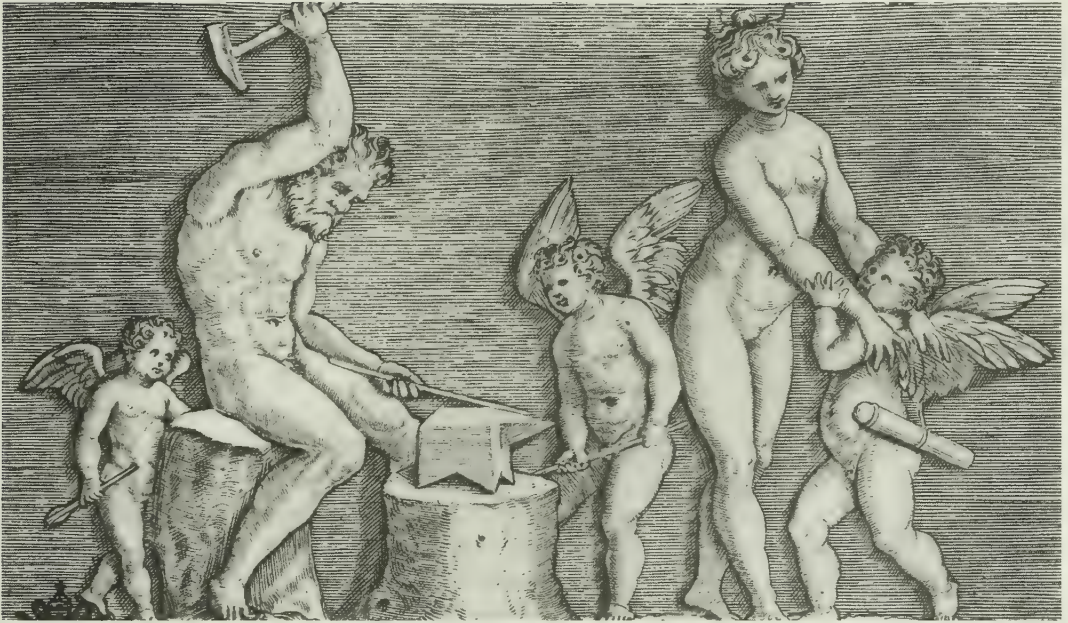
16. Anonym, *Apoll und Vulkan*. Washington, National Gallery of Art. – Photo: Museum

bestimmten technischen Möglichkeiten, denn deren Saiten konnten nur angezupft werden. Aber gerade mit dem Bogen konnte man mehrere Töne gleichzeitig erklingen lassen, also harmonische Akkorde spielen, zumal der kaum gerundete, flache Steg der Lira dafür die beste Voraussetzung bot. Mit der Lira da braccio betont Dosso somit deutlich den harmonikalen Charakter der Musik. Das Streichinstrument symbolisiert die höchste Entwicklungsstufe vollendeter Harmonie, während die Hammerschläge die Musik primitivster Art als Basis der eigentlichen wohlklingenden Musik darstellen.

Im nächsten Abschnitt wird untersucht werden, in welchem Maße die Harmonie in Dossos Gemälde weiterhin als Schwerpunkt für das Verständnis der Musik aufscheint.

Zunächst soll noch einmal auf die Darstellung des Pythagoras eingegangen werden. Der antike Gelehrte wird von Dosso nicht als antiker Philosoph mit langem Mantel wiedergegeben, wie er beispielsweise in Raffaels Fresko *Die Schule von Athen* in der Stanza della Segnatura im Vatikan zu sehen ist (Osthoff 1987: 161–3), sondern in ungewöhnlicher Weise als arbeitender Schmied. Sein nackter Oberkörper und besonders der auffallende, sich in hohem Bogen bauschende Umhang entsprechen vielmehr einem anderen ikonographischen Typ, dem des Hephaistos/Vulkan, der schon in der Antike als Gott des Feuers den Urtyp des Schmieds verkörperte. Darauf weist auch die Farbe Rot des Umhangs hin, die in diesem Zusammenhang als Symbol für das Feuer zu lesen ist.

Es mag genügen, hier zwei Vergleichsbeispiele anzuführen, die den Vulkantyp, wie er in der Renaissance verbreitet war, deutlich vor Augen führen. In dem berühmten Gemälde *Mars und Venus auf dem Parnass* von Andrea Mantegna, entstanden 1497 (Paris, Musée du Louvre), steht links Vulkan mit wehendem roten Mantel in seiner Schmiede; eine verwandte Figur zeigt eine



17. Marco Dente, *Vulkan, Venus und drei Amoretten*. Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Gabinetto delle Stampe. – Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico. Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Bologna

italienische Bronzeplakette aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert (Fig. 16).⁶² Abgebildet sind rechts Vulkan mit dem sich bogenförmig bauschenden Umhang, mit den zwei Hämmern auf den Amboß schlagend, links Apoll mit einer figural geschmückten großen Kithara. Zugrunde liegt beiden Kompositionen die mythologische Begebenheit des Besuches Apolls in der Schmiede des Vulkan, um diesem vom Ehebruch seiner Gattin Venus zu berichten (Homer, *Odyssee* VIII; Ovid, *Metamorphosen* IV).

Mit der ikonographischen Anspielung auf Vulkan, den Gemahl der Venus, hat Dosso eine ideelle Verbindung geschaffen zur stehenden weiblichen Person rechts. Ihre Identifikation mag durch den Vergleich mit einem Stich Marco Dentes klarer werden (Fig. 17),⁶³ der das in der Druckgraphik der Renaissance beliebte Bildthema des Besuches von Venus und Amor in der

62 Vgl. Lightbown 1986: Nr. 39, Farbt. XII. Vgl. *New York* 1992: 418–26. Die Bronzeplakette mit den Maßen H. 4,2 cm, B. 4,0 cm, befindet sich in der National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Nr. A.507. 1957. 14. 353; vgl. Pope-Hennessy 1965: 65, Nr. 229, Fig. 111. Wie mir Dr. Douglas Lewis, National Gallery, Washington, freundlicherweise mitteilte, erarbeitet er zur Zeit einen wissenschaftlichen Katalog zu den Bronzeplaketten, der 1996 publiziert werden wird. Auch Franca Trinchieri Camiz weist auf den sich bauschenden, roten Mantel als Erkennungszeichen für die Figur des Vulkan hin (1983: 86); sie deutet im weiteren Verlauf den Schmied in Dossos Bild als Darstellung Vulkans, welcher der Schutzgott Alfonsos d'Este gewesen sei (*ibidem*: 87). Überzeugende ikonographische Vergleichsbeispiele werden jedoch nicht angeführt; auch bleibt der Bezug zwischen dem Gott der Schmiedekunst und der Musik ungeklärt.

63 Ein Exemplar des Stiches befindet sich in Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Gabinetto delle Stampe (Größe: 104: 168 mm), vgl. Ferrara/Bertelà 1975: Nr. 210 (o. Pag.). Der Stich gehört zu einer Folge von acht Blättern mit mythologischen Themen. Marco Dente da Ravenna († 1527) war Schüler des berühmteren bolognesischen Stechers Marcantonio Raimondi (um 1475–1534).

Schmiede des Vulkan variiert. Die beiden Darstellungen, Dossos Gemälde und Dentes Stich, weisen viele Gemeinsamkeiten auf, zu denen neben der reliefartigen Komposition ohne Tiefenraum auch die Figurenwahl und -anordnung gehört, als da sind der sitzende Vulkan mit dem hinter ihm befindlichen Amor bzw. Genius und die rechts stehende Venus. Damit wäre auch die stehende *nuda* in Dossos Gemälde benannt. Überdies wurde Venus als einzige weibliche Gestalt von jeher völlig unbekleidet dargestellt, so daß allein die Nacktheit ausreichen würde, die Figur im Florentiner Bild als Venus zu identifizieren. Dosso hat den Typ der sogenannten *Venus pudica*, der schamhaften Venus, gewählt, der den Renaissancekünstlern unter anderem durch eine seit dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert nachweisbare römische Statue bekannt war und vielfach rezipiert wurde (vgl. Bober/Rubinstein 1986: 59–61). Die Figur der Venus bildet hier als Göttin der sinnlichen Schönheit den Gegenpol zu Pythagoras/Vulkan, der den Part des Intellekts und der Erfindungsgabe verkörpert.

In der mythologischen Literatur wird Venus aber nicht nur als Gattin Vulkans beschrieben, sondern auch als Geliebte des Kriegsgottes Ares/Mars. Bei der Besprechung der oben genannten Bronzeplakette ist schon erwähnt worden, daß dieser Ehebruch von Apoll entdeckt und Vulkan hinterbracht wurde, wie es in Homers *Odysee* beschrieben ist. Dort erzählt der blinde Sänger Demodokos zu den Klängen der Phorminx von der Affäre zwischen Mars und Venus und von der Rache des Vulkan, nachdem dieser durch Apoll von ihr erfahren hatte (*Odysee* VIII, 265–365). In der Renaissance wurde die antike Göttersatire insbesondere nach der Fassung bei Ovid (*Metamorphosen* IV, 167–89) wiederbelebt. Nicht nur in der zeitgenössischen Dichtung wurde sie verarbeitet, wie beispielsweise im Epos *Orlando Furioso* des ferraresischen Hofdichters Ariost († 1533),⁶⁴ sondern auch in der musiktheoretischen Literatur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Pietro Aron allerdings verwechselt in seinem Traktat *Toscanello in musica* Vulkan und Mars, denn bei der Erwähnung des Gesangs des Demodokos schreibt er: “Et Demodoco da Corfu vecchio musicho celebri la ruina di Troia & le nozze di Venere & di Volcano in opera poetica” (I, 2).

Für die Szene, in der Apoll zu Vulkan kommt (wie es in der Bronzeplakette isoliert dargestellt ist), findet sich im Florentiner Gemälde eine konkrete Anspielung in der Lira da braccio. Sie spielt als das wichtigste Attribut Apolls in der Ikonographie der Renaissance auf den Besuch des Sonnengottes in der Schmiede an. Damit hat das Saiteninstrument eine doppeldeutige Funktion — analog der Doppeldeutigkeit des Schmieds.

Die dritte Figur in Dossos Bild ist ebenfalls eine Gestalt der Mythologie, die mit den beiden anderen Personen in enger Beziehung steht.

b) Harmonia

Der Affäre der Venus mit dem Kriegsgott entsprang nämlich eine Tochter, Harmonia genannt, wie es in Hesiods *Theogonia* heißt.⁶⁵ Von hier aus blieb die Figur der Harmonia, spätere Gemahlin des Kadmos, in der mythologischen und mythographischen Literatur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (Albricus; Natale Conti; Vincenzo Cartari) lebendig.⁶⁶ Von großem Einfluß auf die Renaissance war der römische Dichter Statius, der in dem Epos *Thebais*

64 Ferrara 1516, Venedig 1526 und zahlreiche weitere Auflagen. Canto XV, 56 (ed. Canetti, 339): “Avea la rete già fatta Vulcano di sottil fil d’acciar, ma con tal arte, che saria stata ogni fatica invano per ismagliarne la più debil parte: et era quella che già piedi e mano avea legate a Venere et a Marte. La fe’ il geloso, e non ad altro effetto, che per pigliarli insieme ambi nel letto.”

65 937, 957; zu den Quellen siehe Roscher 1886–90: I, Sp. 1830–3.

66 Giovanni Boccaccio († 1375), dessen Schrift *De genealogia deorum gentilium* über zwei Jahrhunderte hindurch die einzige wissenschaftliche Quelle für die Mythologie der alten Völker blieb, widmet Harmonia ein eigenes

(III: 260–316) die Idee der personifizierten Verbindung von Tapferkeit (Mars) und Schönheit (Venus) ausführlich formulierte. Nach der *editio princeps* von 1483 erlebte das Werk allein in Venedig bis 1519 sechs weitere Auflagen.

Auch in der Musiktheorie des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts ist Harmonia gegenwärtig. Pietro Aron erklärt sogar die Etymologie des Wortes Harmonie mit ihrem Namen, da sie angeblich perfekt das Spielen von Akkorden auf der Sackpfeife (hier gemeint als Äquivalent zum antiken Doppelaulos) beherrschte:

Harmonia moglie di Cadmo [...] tanto seppe ben sonar la piva che non mancano autori, gli quali dicono quelle concordanza di differenti voci che noi chiamiamo harmonia, da lei haver pigliato il nome.⁶⁷

Die dritte Person im Gemälde kann schon an dieser Stelle deshalb als Harmonia, Tochter der Venus, benannt werden. Sie ist in auffälligem Gegensatz zu der Göttin mit einem bis zu den Füßen reichenden rockähnlichen Gewand angetan. Dieses Kleidungsstück dürfte das Gewand zitieren, das nach der griechischen Mythologie Harmonia zusammen mit einem von Vulkan geschmiedeten Halsband zur Hochzeit mit Kadmos geschenkt bekam (siehe Roscher 1886–90: I, Sp. 1830).

Harmonia verkörperte über ihre mythologische Herkunft hinaus auch philosophisches Ideen- gut. Sie repräsentierte das Prinzip der universalen Harmonie, die den ganzen Kosmos umspannt. Diese Überlieferung läßt sich zurückführen auf die *Dionysiaka*, ein Epos des griechischen Dichters Nonnos (Nonnus Panopolitanus, 5. Jh. n. Chr.), in dem Harmonia als Personifikation der Harmonie des Universums beschrieben wird; ihre Wohnung ist ein rundes Haus, welches ein Abbild des Weltalls darstellt. In ihm bewahrt sie sieben Tafeln auf, die nach den sieben Planeten benannt sind und die Orakelsprüche des Weltalls enthalten, welche die Basis für die Harmonie des Universums bilden (1933: 431, 276–87). Die Lehre von der kosmischen Harmonie, basierend auf der Vorstellung, daß die Bewegungen der Planeten für den Menschen nicht hörbare Töne produzieren, die eine perfekte Harmonie, d. h. die Sphärenharmonie ergeben, ist jedoch sehr viel älter. Ihre Entstehung wurzelt in der Philosophie der Pythagoreer, in der die Musik eng mit der Astronomie verbunden war, wie Platon berichtet (*Politeia* VII, 530 D; vgl. van der Waerden 1979: 100–15). Die pythagoreischen Ideen wurden über die Vorsokratiker, die neupythagoreischen Philosophen und die römischen Schriftsteller in Mittelalter und Neuzeit tradiert. Bemerkungen über die Sphärenharmonie finden sich insbesondere bei Cicero im *Somnium Scipionis*, bei Plinius d. Ä., der das zweite Buch seiner *Naturalis historia* der Astronomie widmet (ein von den Musiktheoretikern der Renaissance vielzitiertes Buch), bei Nikomachos und im Cicero-Kommentar des Macrobius, auf den sich die Renaissanceautoren für die Erklärung der Sphärenharmonie ebenfalls berufen.⁶⁸ Bedeutsam ist vor allem die erstmals bei Nikomachos

Kapitel: “De Hermiona Xla Martis filia et Cadmi coniuge” (Liber IX, 37, ed. Romano: II, 478–9). — Panofsky war der erste, der die in der ikonographischen Forschung lange keine Rolle spielende mythologische Figur der Harmonia wiederentdeckte (1980: 223–4).

67 *Toscanello* I, 1: “Harmonia, die Frau des Kadmos [...] wußte so gut die Sackpfeife zu spielen, daß es nicht an Autoren fehlt, welche von jener Konkordanz der verschiedenen Stimmen sprechen, die wir Harmonie nennen, von der ihr Name herrührt.” Die “piva” ist in der Renaissance die Sackpfeife; Aron betrachtet sie als die Nachfolgerin des antiken Doppelaulos. Beide Instrumente besitzen ein ähnliches technisches Prinzip, das ein gleichzeitiges Anblasen von zwei oder mehr Tönen, also das eigentlich harmonische Spielen, ermöglicht. In der Ikonographie der Renaissance ist beispielsweise Athena mit einer Sackpfeife dargestellt, die auf den Mythos der Erfindung des Aulos durch Athena anspielt; vgl. Winternitz 1979: 150–65.

68 Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis* (*De re publica* VI, 9–25): 18–9, hg. Büchner 1976: 9–11; Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, II, 20 (83–4), hg. König 1973: 68–71; Nikomachos, *Enchiridion*: VI, hg. Meibom 1652, Teil III: 10–4; Macrobius, *Commentarii*: II, 2–3, hg. Willis 1970: 106–7.

formulierte Gleichsetzung der Töne mit den sieben Planeten, die durch Boethius Eingang ins lateinische Mittelalter fand.⁶⁹ Nonnos' Beschreibung der Personifikation der Weltall-Harmonie ist also nur eine weitere Ausschmückung der alten Idee vom harmonisch geordneten Kosmos.

Die Vorstellung von der Sphärenharmonie, welche auch als *musica mundana* bezeichnet wurde, beschäftigte bis ins siebzehnte Jahrhundert hinein die Musiktheoretiker der Neuzeit. Als Beispiel für die Musiktheorie der Renaissance sei hier Niccolò Burzio zitiert, der die Harmonie des Kosmos ganz im Sinne der Antike beschreibt:

Nam mundus armonia quadam compositus est, ipsumque celum armonie modulatione revolvitur. Celestium tamen corporum intervalla sola considerantur ratione non sensu. Igitur a terra ad lunam Pythagoras putavit, teste Macrobio, esse stadiorum circiter centum viginti sex millium, idque esse toni intervallum.⁷⁰

Zwar ist die kosmische Harmonie nicht hörbar, jedoch sei die klingende Musik, so Gafurio in *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* (1518), ein Abbild der natürlichen Harmonie des Universums, die auf diesem Wege sinnlich erfahrbar ist.⁷¹ Noch Zarlino legt in den *Istitutioni* (1558) ausführlich und unter Benutzung der genannten antiken Autoren "l'Harmonia delle Sphere Celesti" dar (II, 29).

In enger Beziehung zu der im Gemälde personifizierten Idee von der universalen Harmonie steht das Motiv der kreisrunden Notenschrift, die auf der Tafel links zu sehen ist. Die Tatsache, daß hier sechs Notenlinien wiedergegeben sind statt der üblichen fünf, läßt vermuten, daß hier nicht die Abbildung einer bestimmten Liedkomposition beabsichtigt ist (dazu Slim 1990). Die Darstellung konzentrischer Kreise, welche die sechs Notenlinien bilden, war von jeher ein Symbol für die Himmels sphären, d. h. die Umlaufbahnen der Planeten, die als vollkommene Kreise gedacht wurden. Hierfür läßt sich in der Musikikonographie eine Tradition seit dem zwölften Jahrhundert belegen.⁷² Auch die Musiktheoretiker der Renaissance benutzten das Diagramm mit konzentrischen Kreisen zur Illustration ihrer Erörterungen von den klingenden Sphären. In Zarlinos *Istitutioni* (1558) etwa findet sich ein Holzschnitt, in dem konzentrische Kreise die Planetenbahnen markieren, denen die Musen sowie die einzelnen Intervalle zugeordnet sind.⁷³

69 Nikomachos, *Enchiridion*: Kap. 3 (Meibom 6): "Sonorum itaque nomina ab illis in coelo versantibus septem stellis", Boethius, *De institutione musica*: I, 27, (Friedlein 219). Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte siehe auch Spitzer 1963. Für die Sphärenharmonie in der Musiktheorie seit der Antike siehe Meyer-Baer 1970: 70–86.

70 *Musices opusculum* 1487: Kap. 3, fol. a^{iv}. "Denn die Welt ist durch eine bestimmte Harmonie zusammengefügt und der Himmel selbst dreht sich mit Veränderung der Harmonie. Dennoch werden die Intervalle der Himmelskörper nur mit dem Verstand, nicht durch die Sinneswahrnehmung betrachtet. Daher glaubte Pythagoras, nach dem Zeugnis des Macrobius, von der Erde zum Mond seien es ungefähr 126.000 Stadien und dies sei das Intervall Tonus."

71 Buch IV, 14: "Non igitur incongruum existimamus Pythagoricis ipsis atque Platoni preberi consensum: qui sonos ipsos aethereos secundum subiectum instrumentalium sonorum ordinem productos esse asserunt: nobis tamen inaudibiles: q [sic] aures haud aptas habemus ob masimam distantiam & turbidiorum corporis commixtionem." ("Wir halten es nicht für unpassend, der Meinung der Pythagoreer selbst und des Platon zuzustimmen, die annehmen, daß die himmlischen Klänge selbst gemäß einer bestimmten Ordnung der Töne der Instrumente hervorgebracht werden. Für uns sind sie jedoch nicht hörbar, da unsere Ohren nicht gerade dafür eingerichtet sind, die große Distanz und die wirre Vermischung der [Himmels-] Körper wahrzunehmen"). Gafurios Ausführungen stützen sich auf den Traktat *Dialoghi de harmonia* des Giorgio Anselmi, dessen handschriftliches Exemplar Gafurio besaß, vgl. Jacques Handschin, "Giorgio Anselmi," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 1959–61, I: 507.

72 Als Beispiel sei die französische Illustration eines Pontifikals vom Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts genannt, welche innerhalb einer kreisförmig geschlossenen Anordnung die personifizierte Luft, Musen und 'Erfinder' der Musik darstellt, siehe Seebass 1973: 95; Taf. 82.

73 Zarlino, *Istitutioni* 1573: II, 29, 120 (hier der Holzschnitt mit der kosmischen Kreiskomposition). Eine ähnliche kosmische Zusammenstellung von Musen, Planeten und Modi findet sich im berühmten Holzschnitt in Gafurios *Practica musicae* (Mailand 1496), der noch einmal in *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* (1518)

Somit ist die Kreiskomposition im Florentiner Gemälde als traditionelles Symbol der Harmonie der Sphären zu verstehen. Dadurch, daß Harmonia sich auf die Notentafel stützt, hat Dosso eine unmittelbare Verbindung zwischen der sitzenden Personifikation und der auf der Tafel symbolisierten "Harmonia celeste" geschaffen.

Darüber hinaus steht auch die Figur des Pythagoras in enger Relation zur Kreisnotation. Denn den Pythagoreern wurde, wie erwähnt, von jeher neben der Erfindung der numerischen Intervalle auch die Entdeckung der kosmischen Harmonie zugeschrieben. Bemerkenswert ist für Dossos Bilderfindung, daß dieselben antiken Autoren, welche die Schmiedelegende überliefern, auf welche die Darstellung des Pythagoras als Schmied zurückgeht, auch die Sphärenharmonie behandeln, nämlich Nikomachos, Macrobius und Boethius. Es lag also für den Maler nahe, neben Pythagoras *in persona als inventor musicae*, gleichzeitig auch die pythagoreische Idee von der weltdurchdringenden Harmonie ins Bild zu setzen.

Nicht zuletzt ist die im Bild symbolisierte Theorie von der Musik des Universums auch ein weiteres Indiz dafür, daß im Schmied nur Pythagoras identifiziert werden kann und nicht etwa Tubalkain oder Jubal, die in keinerlei Zusammenhang mit der Sphärenharmonie stehen.

c) "Trinitas in unum" als umfassendes Musikkonzept

Zur frontal ins Bild gesetzten Tafel gehört als Pendant die ganz rechts sichtbare mit der Dreiecknotation und der Inschrift "Trinitas in unum". Slim fand heraus, daß die Noten als eine Komposition des unter anderem in Ferrara tätigen Josquin des Prés († 1521) "Agnus Dei II" zu lesen seien (1990: 59). Da die Form des Dreiecks für eine Notenkomposition äußerst ungewöhnlich ist, liegt es nahe, das Augenmerk auf das Dreieck *per se* zu richten, wie es entsprechend für die Kreisnotation vorgenommen wurde. Denn als rein geometrische Form betrachtet, bildet das Dreieck ganz offensichtlich eine visuelle Umsetzung des Mottos "Trinitas in unum". Diese Dreiheit, die zusammen ein Ganzes bildet, kann, gemessen an der Notendarstellung sowie am Gesamtthema des Bildes, nur in Bezug auf das Thema Musik gedeutet werden. Da beide Notentafeln als zusammengehörig gedacht sind, kann man annehmen, daß das musikalische Motto auch die auf der anderen Tafel symbolisierte Sphärenharmonie miteinschließt. Anders herum gesagt, die Sphärenharmonie bildet als *musica mundana* nur einen Teil der Musik. Dosso muß also im Hinblick auf den Titulus noch zwei weitere Gruppen der Musik im Sinn gehabt haben.

Tatsächlich schließen sich der Kategorie der *musica mundana* traditionell zwei weitere Gruppen an, die *musica humana* und die *musica instrumentalis*. Von Boethius aus fand diese Aufteilung ihren Niederschlag in der Musiktheorie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Gafurio beispielsweise widmet den drei Kategorien in seinem Traktat *Theorica musice* (1492) eigene Kapitel, in denen er jeweils das Wesen der einzelnen Musikarten darlegt, und Pietro Aron unterscheidet darüberhinaus zwischen "tre sorti de la musica": "Mondana, Humana, Istromentale" und den isidorischen "tri forme" der Töne (harmonica, organica, rhythmica).

Die *musica mundana* meint die Harmonie der Planetensphären, die im Bild direkt symbolisiert wird durch die Kreisnotation. Sie bedeutet die Harmonie zwischen Körper und Seele, Sinn und Geist und weist damit auf die Grundidee der pythagoreischen Lehre hin: nur vom auditiv wahrnehmbaren Klang der musikalischen Instrumente ausgehend, konnten die Pythagoreer die zahlengesetzliche Grundlage der wohlklingenden Harmonie entdecken. Diesen den Sinn

abgedruckt ist. Auch in der italienischen Literatur hat das Bild vom klingenden Sphärenkreis eine alte Tradition, wie es eine Passage im "Paradiso" in Dantes *Divina Commedia* oder die Legende von den drei Mönchen, ebenfalls aus dem Trecento, zeigen, bei Kämper 1971: 359. Vgl. auch Meyer-Baer 1970: 116–129.

erfreuenden Wohlklang verkörpert im Bild die Göttin der Schönheit, Venus. Ein wichtiges Indiz dafür ist das ungewöhnliche Motiv ihres demonstrativ vom Betrachter abgekehrten Gesichtes. Denn nicht der Gesichtssinn, also die optische Schönheit soll im Vordergrund stehen, für die Venus üblicherweise figuriert, sondern die akustische Schönheit. Dagegen verkörpert auf der anderen Seite Pythagoras/Vulkan als Wissenschaftler und kunstreicher Schmied sozusagen in dritter Funktion das Gesetz der Zahl und die Erfindungsgabe und steht somit für die Ratio. Die *musica instrumentalis*, durch das Motiv der Hämmer und der Lira da braccio dargestellt, ist das klingende Abbild der beiden anderen Kategorien. Alle drei Arten der "harmonia" vereinigen sich "in una", sie bilden die Gesamtheit der Musik, die als Harmonia im Zentrum des Bildes personifiziert ist.

Zusammenfassend läßt sich feststellen, daß im Gemälde grundsätzlich zwei Bedeutungsebenen existieren, die sich durch die gesamte Komposition ziehen. Die beiden Ebenen betreffen sowohl die dargestellten Personen als auch die Gegenstände. Der Schmied stellt zunächst die historische Figur des sich wissenschaftlich betätigenden Pythagoras dar, spielt aber gleichzeitig auf Vulkan und die mythologische Begebenheit des Ehebruchs seiner Gattin Venus an, die rechts wiedergegeben ist. Damit hat auch die Lira da braccio eine doppeldeutige Funktion: einmal ist sie unmittelbarer Teil der Entdeckungen des Pythagoras, zweitens gehört sie zur mythologischen Welt des Vulkan und meint hier die Lyra Apolls. In diesem Sinne fügt sich Venus als mythische Mutter der Harmonia und gleichzeitige Personifikation der akustischen Schönheit, also der sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Musik, nahtlos in die zwei Bedeutungsebenen des Bildes ein. Die zentrale Frauenfigur vereint ebenfalls in subtiler Weise zwei Bedeutungsschichten in sich. Sie ist als Harmonia zunächst die mythologische Tochter der Venus; weiterhin verkörpert sie aber auch die Harmonie als Musik schlechthin im Sinne der traditionellen Frau Musica. Deshalb füllt sie auch das Zentrum des Bildes aus, eingerahmt von den Vertretern der mathematischen Musiktheorie und des sinnlichen Wohlklangs.

Martianus Capella spricht in seinem auch noch in der Renaissance vielgelesenen allegorischen Roman *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii libri IX* (5. Jh.; ed. princ. Vicensa 1499) nicht von der *Musica*, sondern nennt im letzten Buch die siebte der Artes Liberales *Harmonia*.⁷⁴ Auch hier wird auf die mythologische Figur, die Tochter von Venus und Mars angespielt. Denn im Romantext folgt der personifizierten Harmonie bei ihrem Einzug in den Hochzeitssaal direkt ihre Mutter Venus, die außerdem im siebten Buch über die Arithmetik in direkte Verbindung mit den vier bekannten Tonintervallen gesetzt und als "Mutter der Harmonia" bezeichnet wird:

Hic primus numerus, id est senarius, harmonias ostenditur gennisse; quippe sex ad duodecim est symphonia diapason, sex ad novem hemiolios, sex ad octo epitritos, id est symphonia diatessaron. Unde Venus Harmoniae mater perhibetur.⁷⁵

Wie bei Dosso sind also auch bei Capella zwei Ebenen miteinander vermischt, indem die mythologische Gestalt der Harmonia die Grundlage bildet für die Allegorie der *ars musica*.

74 Liber IX "De Harmonia", 888–90, hg. Willis 1983: 337–86. Schon vor der Drucklegung des allegorischen Romans 1499 waren zahlreiche Handschriften in der Renaissance verbreitet, vgl. Leonardi 1959: 480–1; allein in Florentiner Bibliotheken befinden sich siebzehn Exemplare, vgl. ders. 1960: 36–53. Zur Rezeption des Martianus Capella in Literatur und Kunst der Renaissance siehe Filangieri di Candida 1900: 114–30, 213–29; vgl. auch Stahl, Johnson und Burge (Hgg.) 1971–7, II: 245–9.

75 Liber VII "De Arithmetica": 737, hg. Willis 1983: 337–8. "Diese erste Zahl, der Senarius, zeigt sich als die Harmonien erzeugende; als solche, sechs zu zwölf ist der Zusammenklang Diapason, sechs zu neun Hemiolios, sechs zu acht Epitritos, das ist der Zusammenklang Diatessaron. Daher gilt Venus als die Mutter der Harmonia." Der Einzug in den Hochzeitssaal in Liber IX "De harmonia": 888–90, hg. Willis 1983: 337–8.



18. Dosso Dossi, *Apollo (Allegorie der Musik)*. Rom. Galleria Borghese. – Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma

Noch ein weiteres interessantes Detail findet sich bei Capella, das zum Florentiner Bild eine auffallende Parallele zeigt. Harmonias Attribut wird als kreisrundes Instrument beschrieben, dessen Saiten alle Töne gleichzeitig erklingen lassen können, da sie in konzentrischen Kreisen angeordnet sind — ebenso wie die Notenlinien auf der Tafel im Bild ein konzentrisches Kreisgefüge bilden:

Dextra autem quoddam gyris multiplicibus circulatum et miris ductibus intertextum velut clipeum gestitabat, quod quidem suis invicem complexibus modulatum ex illis fidibus circulatis omnium modorum concinentiam personabat [...] Verum ille orbis non chelys nec barbiton nec tetrachordon apparebat, sed ignota rotunditas omnium melodias transcenderat organorum.⁷⁶

Da man alle Töne dieses Instruments auf einmal erklingen lassen kann, übertrifft es mit seiner Harmonie und dem Wohlklang alle anderen bekannten Instrumente, denen es in keiner Weise gleicht. Das wunderbare Instrument, welches es in Wirklichkeit nicht gibt, ist als ein Symbol für die universale Harmonie zu verstehen und damit als Attribut der eigentlichen personifizierten Harmonie — so wie im Gemälde die konzentrischen Kreise der Notation als Symbol für die Sphärenharmonie ein Attribut Harmonias sind. Nicht allein in diesem Motiv, sondern auch im Verständnis der Musik als perfekte Harmonie ist Capellas literarische Musikallegorie Dossos gemalter *Allegorie der Musik* eng verwandt.

In einem anderen, etwas früher entstandenen Musikbild hat Dosso Dossi in gleicher Weise zwei Bedeutungsebenen verschmolzen, allerdings in einer noch weniger ausgereiften Form. Es ist das Gemälde *Apoll* in der Galleria Borghese in Rom (Fig. 18).⁷⁷ Daphne in der Landschaft im Hintergrund verweist einmal auf die bekannte mythologische Szene, die bei Ovid erzählte Verwandlung der Nymphe, als sie von Apoll verfolgt wurde (*Metamorphosen* I, 455–565). Die zweite und wichtigere Bedeutungsschicht läßt die Darstellung als eine Allegorie der Musik erscheinen, denn der Sonnengott wurde seit der Antike auch als mythologischer “Erfinder” der Musik angesehen.⁷⁸ Auch in diesem Gemälde bildet die Harmonie den Schwerpunkt für das Musikverständnis. Darauf weist einmal die auffällig in den Bildvordergrund gerückte Lira da braccio mit ihrer oben erklärten Harmonie-Symbolik hin. Weiterhin galt nach einer in der Antike wurzelnden, weit verbreiteten Theorie Apoll selber als Regent der planetarischen Sphären, dessen Musik auf der Lyra als Quelle der kosmischen Harmonie erklärt wurde (Mossakowski 1973: 451–60).

Die Lehre von der weltdurchdringenden Harmonie, die im Florentiner Gemälde Dosso Dossis eine entscheidende, den Bildinhalt bestimmende Rolle spielt, hatte sich insbesondere in Ferrara seit dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert durch die am Hofe der Este blühende Astronomie — bedeutende Astronomen wie Giovanni Biachini und Regiomontanus waren hier tätig — entfalten können.⁷⁹ Im folgenden Jahrhundert war es der Astronom und Professor für Griechisch und

76 Liber IX: 909–10, hg. Willis 1983: 347. “Mit der Rechten aber führte sie [ein Instrument], durch vielfach verschlungene Windungen kreisförmig gebildet wie ein Schild und mit wunderbaren Gebilden durchzogen, welches aus seinen kreisförmigen Saiten durch seine melodischen Verbindungen wechselseitig eine Harmonie aller Weisen erklingen ließ [...] Aber jenes Instrument erschien weder als Chelys (Lyra), noch als Barbiton, noch als ein Tetrachord, sondern als das Unbekannte übertraf es die vollkommenen Melodien aller Instrumente.” Das Instrument wird nochmals hervorgehoben in dem an Jupiter gerichteten Lied in IX, 911–3, hg. Willis 1983: 348f.

77 Öl auf Leinwand, 191:116 cm; Galleria Borghese, Rom; Inv. Nr. 1; Gibbons 1968: Nr. 55, Datierung in die erste Hälfte der 1520er Jahre.

78 Vgl. beispielsweise Aron, *Toscanello* 1539: I, 2: “Vogliono altri che questa inventione [di musica] non fussi d’huomo mortale, ma dono di Apolline ornato di tutte le virtu & scienze”. Galilei, *Dialogo* 1581: 142 (“Apollo inventore del sonare & cantare”).

79 Zur Zeit Ercole I. († 1505) beispielsweise wirkte in Ferrara der Humanist Felice Feliciano, der in einem Brief an einen Freund über seine persönliche Erfahrung mit der Harmonie des Kosmos schreibt: “Sententia è di tutti i

Latein, Celio Calcagnini (1479–1541), der am Hofe von Ferrara wirkte. Sein Gönner war Kardinal Ippolito d'Este I (1479–1520), der selber sehr interessiert an astronomischen Theorien und wissenschaftlichen Instrumenten war sowie mathematische Bücher sammelte (Rose 1975: 123–4). Von einer diplomatischen Reise 1517–19 brachten Calcagnini und der Kardinal unter anderem eine lateinische Übersetzung des Ptolemaios und das erwähnte zweite Buch von Plinius' d. Ä. *Naturalis historia* mit, in dem die pythagoreische Harmonie der Sphären erörtert wird (*ibidem*). Es ist anzunehmen, daß das Gemälde unter dem Einfluß der Lehren Calcagninis, der mit vielen Künstlern bekannt war, entstanden ist. In jedem Fall muß Dossos Auftraggeber in den Schriften der antiken Gelehrten und Dichter belesen gewesen sein und vor allem weitreichende Kenntnisse in den quadrivialen Wissenschaften Musik und Astronomie oder zumindest darin gebildete Berater — wie sie Isabella d'Este in Mantua für ihre Bildaufträge heranzog — gehabt haben, damit solch ein ausgefeiltes Bildprogramm unter Verwendung mythologisch-philosophischen Gedankengutes entstehen konnte. Die Musikliebhaberei eines Dilettanten, dessen Ambitionen sich lediglich auf das praktische Musizieren beschränkten, reichte hierfür sicherlich nicht aus.⁸⁰

Philosophi che la musica el sonare el cantare sia alimento del l'anima e per questo habiamo testimonio che ella vengi dalle sedie del cielo ove ogni armonia sempre risulta. Io le ho udito tante volte modulare la cytara cum quella suavità che non mi seria stato in quel puncto grave il morire", zit. nach Bertoni 1903: 184.

80 Slim 1990: 76 weist für eine musikalische Beeinflussung Dossos auf die Costabili-Brüder Antonio († 1527) und Beltrame († 1519) hin, die beide als Musiker am Hofe von Ferrara tätig waren, sich also lediglich mit der praktischen Musik befaßten.

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- CSM *Corpus scriptorum de musica*. Rom: American Institute of Musicology.
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Beauty, talent, virtue, and charm: portraits of two of Handel's sopranos

Kathryn Lowerre

1. Introduction

Among the host of women singers who performed in Handel's London operas, Anastasia Robinson and Faustina Bordoni were admired not only for their vocal prowess but also for their personal charms and success in their private lives. Drawing on their contemporaries' accounts, eighteenth-century music historians Charles Burney and John Hawkins presented Robinson and Bordoni to their reading public (and to posterity) as model performers and model women. In his "Portrait" of the British soprano, Hawkins quotes the Duchess of Portland, praising Robinson as "one of the most virtuous and best of women" (1853: II, 871). In his history, Burney reproduces Venetian poet and librettist Apostolo Zeno's observations on Bordoni, referring to the "courteous and polite manners, as well as talents, with which she has enchanted" (1957: II, 738). The biographies of the two celebrated sopranos have many elements in common. Both had successful stage careers, personally charmed their patrons and admirers, married advantageously, and knew when to retire.

In contrast, renowned soprano Francesca Cuzzoni, who shared the stage with Robinson and Bordoni in turn, was characterized by Hawkins as a "rebellious spirit" (1853: II, 873), renowned for her "extravagance and caprice" (Burney 1957: II, 737), and rumored to be an unfaithful wife to her musician husband. After Cuzzoni left the Royal Academy she was jailed for debt in Holland, later attempted a disastrous return to the English stage, and (as Burney and Hawkins relate with great moral relish) apparently met a suitably pitiful end in Bologna, quite penniless. Hawkins deliberately juxtaposes her sad end (an almost perfect antithesis to the success stories of her contemporaries) with the "better fate" of the more agreeable Bordoni (1853: II, 874).

While both Robinson and Bordoni initially came to public attention as performers, their public personae were transformed as the decades passed in very different ways. Robinson, whose career apparently ended when she married, became stylized as an essentially English emblem of virtue, and was popularized in middle-class London through a series of prints. In portraits of Bordoni, images of the Italian prima donna evolve from bashful ingenue to seductive nymph to mature, stately court singer, suggesting a series of stages in her long career which are not apparent in the endless lists of operas and cities in which she sung.

Previous scholars have studied these portraits as examples of a specific artist's work (Bettagno 1969, Sani 1988), as representatives of a certain genre, collection, or period (Levey 1980, Zampetti 1969), or as iconographic documentation of Handel's life and society (Simon 1985). By exploring sequences of portraits of Anastasia Robinson and Faustina Bordoni — spanning six decades and a variety of media — and interpreting them along with their written "portraits" we can obtain a better understanding of the lives of these two women, the significance they held for their contemporaries, and the significance they hold for us today.

2. Anastasia Robinson: biography

*Who dare have Virtue in a Vicious Age?*¹

The basic facts of Anastasia Robinson's early life (as she told it) are essentially the same in Hawkins and Burney. Her father was an English portrait painter from "a good family in Leicestershire" (Burney 1957: II, 690), who spent the first years of his marriage studying abroad. Robinson was born in Italy around 1692 and learned as a child to speak Italian fluently.² After the family's return to London, while she was still fairly young, her father's vision became impaired and his inability to continue providing for his family made it necessary that his daughters be trained in some profession that would enable them to maintain themselves.³ Robinson, who had "an ear for music" studied music first with a certain Dr. Croft or Crofts, later with harpsichordist Giuseppe Sandoni, and soprano Joanna Maria Lindelheim, known as "the Baroness".⁴

According to Burney, Robinson began performing by giving concerts, accompanying herself on the harpsichord. Her conduct was "strictly prudent and irreproachable" and her demeanor "gained her at all times such a reception from the public, as seemed to ensure her success in whatever she should undertake." (1957: II, 690). Sometime during the early 1710s, Robinson apparently met Charles Mordaunt, the third Earl of Peterborough, whom she would eventually marry. Whether this meeting occurred before or during her concert days is not clear.

In 1713, Robinson made her stage debut in a pasticcio arranged by Nicola Haym, an Italian librettist, and the Swiss impresario John Jacob Heidegger. She first sang for Handel in his *Ode*

1 From "Constantinople" by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in *Court Eclogs Written in the Year, 1716*; see 1977: 60, lines 107–11:

Impertinence with all her tattling train,
Fair sounding Flattery's delicious bane,
Censorious Folly, noisy Party rage,
The thousand Tongues with which she must engage
Who dare have Virtue in a vicious Age.

2 According to Colin Ballard, in his biography of the Earl of Peterborough, Anastasia Robinson was living in Venice with her father in 1712. He speculates that the Earl, Robinson's future husband, might have met her then (1929: 258).

In his biography of Consul Smith, Frances Vivian hypothesizes that the Earl of Peterborough met Consul Smith in Venice during this period through Anastasia Robinson (1971: 13–4). Vivian believes Robinson must have known retired English soprano Catherine Tofts, later Smith's wife.

On the basis of a reference in a letter by Jonathan Swift to "a lady" accompanying Peterborough, William Stebbing suggests that Anastasia Robinson and her family may have returned to London in Peterborough's company in December 1712 (1890: 185–6).

None of them refer to any solid evidence.

3 The careers of many women performers during the eighteenth century began with their family's loss (or lack) of economic security. For instance, both Susannah Cibber and Catherine (Kitty) Clive, later singers in Handel's oratorios, appeared on the stage following the collapse of their middle-class fathers' finances. Charles Burney commented on this in one of the final chapters of his *General History of Music*: "There are few instances of vocal performers, especially female, being brought on our stage, but by accident. The fear of seduction, profligacy, and the world's opinion deters parents from educating their children with a view to a profession, which nothing but uncommon success and prudence, can render honourable in the eyes of the most serious part of the nation." (1957: II, 983)

4 Dr. Croft was probably the composer William Croft (1678–1727), Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal after Blow's death in 1708 and Organist at Westminster Abbey. See Shaw 1980.

Sandoni (1685–1748) was an Italian harpsichordist in London, later connected with the Academy. He had studied counterpoint with Giovanni Bononcini. In 1722 he married soprano Francesca Cuzzoni. See Schnoebelen 1980.

Lindelheim sang in the majority of the operas produced in London from around 1706 until 1711. During the next six years she gave benefit concerts and taught singing. Both Burney and Sir John Hawkins mention her cryptically. See Dean 1980d.

for the *Birthday of Queen Anne*, performed at court on 6 February 1713 (Deutsch 1954: 53). Robinson's first appearance in a Handel opera was in a supporting role in *Amadigi di Gaula* in 1715. Her stature as a singer continued to grow. In the 1717 revival of Handel's *Rinaldo* she played the virtuous princess Almirena. Her roles emphasized the "tender" and "pathetic" qualities of her voice, and show few signs of the vocal brilliance applauded in (and expected of) the Italian prima donnas who surrounded her. Like soprano Catherine Tofts before her,⁵ Anastasia Robinson was usually the sole Briton in an operatic cast composed of Italians. As one of the few British singers to achieve any success in the field of Italian opera, patriotism no doubt increased her popularity with London audiences.

By the beginning of the next decade, Robinson had earned a solid position in the company at the Royal Academy of Music. From its first season in 1720, "Mrs Robinson" sang in nearly all of the productions at the Academy, as well as the usual concerts and benefits. In Handel's operas she usually played the second female lead, first under Margherita Durastanti and then, in her final season, under Francesca Cuzzoni. However, Robinson was on very good terms with one of the Academy's other composers, Giovanni Bononcini, who wrote leading roles for her in several operas. In his *Griselda* she played the title character, the low-born wife of a king who remains utterly faithful to her husband even though he publicly rejects her and subjects her to an assortment of tests and trials. *Griselda* was to be Robinson's most famous role, onstage and off.⁶

In the summer of 1721, Robinson was apparently staying in Twickenham and already on visiting terms with the artistic and literary circle of poet Alexander Pope (Pope was also friends with the Earl of Peterborough). At that time, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote in a letter to her sister, Lady Mar, that "He [Bononcini] and Mrs. Robinson and Senesino [Francesco Bernardi, the famous castrato] lodge in this village and sup often with me" (Montagu 1965: II, 13).

The circle at Twickenham was linked not only by professional ties and personal friendship but by religious faith as well. Nearly all, like Robinson and Pope, were Roman Catholic, which could be a burden and even a danger to those in the public eye in militantly Protestant and Anglican England.⁷ The distrust of Catholics (especially foreign Catholics like Bononcini and the other Italian musicians) was particularly virulent during the first half of the eighteenth century, when Britain's unity and peace were threatened by Jacobite uprisings in favor of the Catholic Pretenders (actual military confrontations took place in 1715 and 1745).

Bononcini's *Griselda* premiered on 22 February 1722, and ran for thirteen nights during the remainder of the season (a major success). According to one popular anecdote the Earl of Peterborough was so affected by her performance as the virtuous (and publicly scorned) wife that he proposed marriage during the spring and was accepted, though the union was intended to remain secret.⁸ Establishing the date of Anastasia Robinson's marriage to Charles Mordaunt, the

5 (ca. 1685–1756). Tofts had a very short but wildly successful London career. She began by singing in subscription concerts in 1703 and then moved to opera. She appeared in the first English operas *Arsinoe* (1705) and *Camilla* (1706). In 1709 she retired from the stage and moved to Italy (she was popularly supposed to have gone mad). By 1711 she was "singing successfully at fashionable assemblies" in Venice (Baldwin and Wilson 1980: 19, 25).

6 The plot of the opera and a reading of Anastasia Robinson's life using *Griselda* as a pattern are provided by Burney (1957: II, 721). As Burney explains, Robinson was "elevated to a theatrical throne for her beauty and talents; then quitting her high dramatic state, and, in appearance, degrading herself to the humble character of mistress to a nobleman, who afterwards owned her for his wife, and invested her with all the honours, privileges, and splendour, of a peeress of Great Britain." Avery notes (1960: II, 677) that on May 9th, 1722, the King, Prince, and Princess were present at the performance of Bononcini's opera.

7 See Nash (1977: 13–7) for a description of Susannah Cibber's experiences "growing up Catholic" in 18th-century London.

8 See, for example, Warburton 1853: II, 192–3, Stebbing 1890: 199.

third Earl of Peterborough (variously given as 1722, 1723, and 1724) is difficult since it was a secret ceremony. The question is likely to remain unresolved since it is difficult to get the existing (and extremely sketchy) evidence to point to a specific date. It is generally assumed that Robinson left the stage immediately following her marriage, but even this assumption has been questioned by Colin Ballard in his biography of the Earl (Ballard 1929: 280).

Throughout 1722, Robinson continued to sing in “ridottos” and various private performances. In January 1723 she was the soprano soloist at a concert arranged by Alexander Pope, with music by Bononcini.⁹ Plans were made during the 1722–23 season to have the singers from the Royal Academy perform Italian opera in France during the summer months. As Lowell Lindgren relates in an article (1977) about the summer tour, Francesca Cuzzoni apparently refused to sing with Robinson and seems to have connived with some of the Academy’s other Italian singers (particularly Senesino) to shut Robinson out of the highly profitable scheme. After the first plans to perform in Paris with the Academy fell through, Robinson traveled to France with Bononcini and made a successful tour of her own. They were accompanied by the Earl of Peterborough, a staunch supporter of the Italian opera in general and of Bononcini and Robinson in particular. Giuseppe Riva, writing to a friend, observed that “her singing and her manner of living were equally admired” (Lindgren 1977: 15). Robinson’s letter to Riva about the trip is witty and engaging in a way the second-hand praises of her contemporaries (however well meant) are not.¹⁰ After three months in France (July–September 1723) she returned to England for the fall season, laden with praise and gifts.

In September 1723, Pope’s friend (and Robinson’s future brother-in-law) Dr. Arbuthnot dined with the Earl of Peterborough, who had recently returned from France, and with “the Mrs Robinsons” (presumably Anastasia, her sisters, and her mother). The Earl had been helping the Robinsons move to a house near his (which may indicate that the marriage occurred in France over the summer).

A few months later, Robinson and the Earl of Peterborough were the focus of London gossip. Writing to her sister in the spring of 1724, Lady Mary relates:

tis impossible to forbear telling the metamorphosis of some of your Acquaintance, which appear as wondrous to me as any in Ovid. Could one beleive [*sic*] that Lady Holdernessee is a Beauty and in Love? and that Mrs. Robinson is at the same time a prude and a kept Mistriss? and these things in spite of Nature and Fortune. The first of these Ladys is [...] sunk in all the Joys of happy Love notwithstanding she wants the use of her 2 hands by a Rheumatism, and he has an arm he can’t move. [...] The 2nd heroine has engag’d half the Town in Arms from the Nicety of her virtue, which was not able to bear the too near approach of Senesino in the Opera, and her Condecension in accepting of Lord Peterborrough for a Champion, who has signaliz’d both his Love and Courage upon this occasion in as many instances as ever D[on] Quixote did for Dulcinea. Poor Senesino like a vanquish’d Giant was forc’d to confess upon his knees that Anastasia was a non pareil of virtue and of Beauty. [...] Innumerable have been the disorders between the 2 sexes on so great an Account, besides Halfe the House of Peers being put under Arrest. By the Providence of Heaven and the wise Cares of his Majesty no bloodshed ensu’d. [...] things are now tolerably accomodated, and the Fair Lady rides through the

9 The program consisted of choral works by Bononcini, settings of texts by Pope and by Lord Buckingham. The concert took place on 10 Jan, 1723 (Pope 1956: II, 135, n. 2).

10 Unfortunately I have not been able to consult the Robinson letters from this period in the Campori collection of the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, which Lindgren quotes from in his article (1977: 14, n. 26 and 15–6). Bertoni reproduces another letter of Robinson’s from this period in full (1927: 320). The letter to Riva reveals that the rather saccharine-sounding paragon of Hawkins and Burney had a delightfully caustic sense of humor. Referring to Cuzzoni’s return to London from Bath she writes “she came from thence a week ago, about an affair of very great consequence, some say to see Sandoni [her husband], others to buy new cloaths, but the learned do not pretend to determine, not knowing which was most dear to her.” (Lindgren 1977: 15)

Town in Triumph in the shining Berlin [carriage] of her Hero, not to reckon the Essential advantage of £100 per month which (tis said) he allows her. [Montagu 1965: II, 37–8]]

Clearly more charitable interpretations of Anastasia Robinson's affairs and the fracas which "ensu'd" can be made than Lady Mary is willing to do. However, it is obvious that Robinson's condition had changed considerably since the peaceful summer suppers of 1721, and it is likely she was no longer invited to dine with Lady Mary at home.

By the spring of 1724, retirement (particularly a financially secure retirement) must have looked very attractive, after a public and unpleasant encounter with Senesino and a year of watching her brazenly rude rival Cuzzoni being heaped with rich gifts and starring roles. After calling the Earl of Peterborough to her defense, as Lady Mary relates, Robinson finished out the 1723–24 season with the Academy, and apparently made no objections to continuing to appear with Senesino (who probably kept his distance). Her last performance at the Academy was in Bononcini's *Calphurnia* on June 9th, 1724 (Burney 1957: II, 729, confirmed by Avery). As it does not seem likely, given eighteenth-century codes of conduct, that an earl would allow his wife (even if only secretly married) to continue to appear on a public stage, this final performance date would seem to suggest that the two were not married until the summer of 1724. However, Robinson's public call for his assistance and the Robinson household's 1723 move to a site near the Earl of Peterborough give some weight to the idea that the wedding had occurred as much as a year earlier.¹¹

Some years after the marriage, and after the deaths of all those principally involved, Mary Granville Pendarves Delany¹² narrated the circumstances leading up to the couple's wedding as follows:

At length Lord P. made his declaration to her on honourable terms; he found it would be vain to make proposals on any other, and as he omitted no circumstance that could engage her esteem and gratitude, she accepted them as she was sincerely attached to him. He earnestly requested her keeping it a secret till it was more convenient for him to make it known, to which she readily consented, having perfect confidence in his honour [...] Lady Oxford attended her when she was privately married to the Earl of P. and Lady P. ever acknowledged her obligations with the warmest gratitude.¹³

Reading around the kindly Mrs. Delany, it seems obvious that the Earl of Peterborough was not so gallant as to offer to marry Robinson until forced to it (perhaps by frustration during that long idyllic summer in France). Possibly the confrontation with Senesino was engineered by

11 Ballard's reading of the situation is quite different. He believes that Robinson and the Earl married in 1722 (or earlier) and agreed to keep on living separate lives. "Peterborough was wise enough to see that it would be cruelty to force her on his own world as his wife [...] [where] she would be ridiculed, snubbed, pitied, and finally forgotten, while as queen of the stage she commanded homage from the public and envy from her own circle" (1929: 280). While this sounds plausible on one level, I am not as willing as Ballard to give credit to Peterborough's "wisdom" in constructing such a situation, and I am not convinced that Anastasia Robinson would have been so out of place in titled company.

Evidence of the Mordaunt family's acceptance of and affection for Anastasia Robinson can be seen in that the Earl's grandson and heir named one of his own daughters after her (in 1738, after his grandfather's death — when pleasing the old gentleman could no longer be a motive for such a gesture). See Brydges 1812: III, 335, and Smith 1917–59: XVII, 2.

12 A contemporary, and a great admirer of Handel's. For a portrait and biographical sketch, see Simon 1985: 182–3. For further information see her autobiography (Delany 1861).

13 Burney 1957: II, 692. The Earl of Oxford and his lady were among Pope's other correspondents. He wrote to them in August 1735 with news of the Earl of Peterborough, then gravely ill, and of Anastasia, observing "The lady is indeed fully imployd, & has a thousand Cares to discharge; but I think Virtue can enable people to work miracles, above the natural Constitution, & surely God assists her, that she is so well as she is." (Pope 1956: III, 490)

Robinson to provide a chance for Peterborough to acknowledge her openly. He certainly did acknowledge a relationship, just not its legal and legitimizing status. His actions have been attributed to pride, since it was unheard of that an Earl of ancient and honourable lineage (the Earls of Peterborough claimed descent from Osbert le Mordaunt, a Norman knight, and held a charter from William the Conqueror) should actually marry an opera singer, however virtuous. Alternative arrangements in affairs such as this were universally accepted (indeed, expected), if not universally admired.

After her withdrawal from the stage, most contemporary information about Robinson's life comes from the letters of Pope and Delany. Mrs. Delany's circle of friends included Margaret Cavendish Holles Hartly, Duchess of Portland, the daughter of the (by then Dowager) Countess of Oxford who served as witness to Robinson's wedding, and there are scattered references to the Peterborough family throughout her correspondence. Since Pope and the Earl of Peterborough were correspondents, his letters often refer to Anastasia Robinson, for whom the two seem to have had a number of pet names. Pope cultivated the older man's friendship assiduously, as the Earl of Peterborough's reputation and influence as a former diplomat and military hero had been extremely useful as the young poet attempted to establish himself as a man of letters in London.¹⁴

Pope seems to have been sincerely attached to Robinson, in addition to valuing his friendship with her husband. In 1732, the Earl of Peterborough and Pope exchanged letters, and Pope informed his noble friend that "Lady P* is a reasonable woman; and I think she will not take it amiss, if I should insist on Esteeming her, instead of Toasting her like a silly thing I could name, who is the Venus of these days" (Pope 1956: III, 311).¹⁵ In previous letters, Pope did not use Anastasia's title, but referred to her as "Mrs Robinson" (in his letter to Pope, Peterborough joking called her "your female Mediatrix"). Use of her title here argues that the couple's marriage was no longer so strictly secret as it had been during the previous decade. In June 1735, the Earl of Peterborough wrote to Pope:

Sir — I have Lead my Self out of Temptation, and brought my Self into the ways of Pennance, which the Lady [presumably Anastasia] approves of, it has a good Catholick Sound. [Pope 1956: III, 468]

The Earl, now seventy-seven years old, had settled his financial affairs, named a grandson by his first marriage as his heir, and finally put an end to the secrecy surrounding his second plunge into matrimony. In a much-quoted letter to Martha Blount, dated 25 August 1735, Pope retails the account he had from the Earl of the last months of his life. In addition to legal and financial tangles, the Earl "found it necessary not only to declare his Marriage to all his relations, but (since the person who had marry'd them was dead) to Re-marry her in the Church at Bristol,

14 Charles Mordaunt, Third Earl of Peterborough and First Earl of Monmouth (1658–1735), after intriguing in his youth for William of Orange (a strange choice for a Catholic, but the Earls of Peterborough seem to have always managed to be on the winning side in England's dynastic struggles) served as General and commander-in-chief of the forces sent to Spain by Queen Anne, and fought in several campaigns between 1705 and 1710. During this time his first wife, Carey Fraser, formerly a Maid of Honour at the court of James II, died. Their son John died a year later, leaving two sons of his own. From 1710 through 1715 the Earl was away from England for long periods of time on diplomatic missions to various courts in Europe (Brydges 1812: III, 334).

Of his character, Chaloner Smith observes (with Victorian distaste) that Peterborough "was an intimate of Pope, Swift, Gay, and other wits, but his courage and talents were so little accompanied by *prudence* and *virtue* [italics mine], that it is most charitable to him to believe he was not perfectly sane in mind" (1878–84: I, 77). According to this (a characterization somewhat mollified but not overturned by his biographers), Peterborough would seem to have chosen his second wife for publicly possessing the qualities that he himself conspicuously lacked.

15 Pope never neglects to compliment Robinson in his letters to the Earl.

before Witnesses" (*ibidem*: 487). Charles Mordaunt, Third Earl of Peterborough, died in October 1735, shortly after sailing (with his wife) to Lisbon.

Pope's correspondence continues to mention Robinson (now publicly known by her title as Lady Peterborough) in the years following her husband's death. His letters describe jaunts to Bath and Southampton to see her, and their dinner parties together.¹⁶ In the last such letter, dated 13 August 1741, Pope informs a friend that "My Lady Peterborow tells me She Shall make a Visit to these parts soon, so that I need not ramble thither" (*ibidem*: IV, 358). Pope's health, always precarious, had begun to collapse. He died in 1744.

There is little information about the last years of Robinson's life.¹⁷ Apparently the second Countess of Peterborough lived quietly on the Peterborough estate at Bevis Mount (tending the gardens Pope had helped the Earl plant) until April 1755, when she died and was buried at Bath Abbey. The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives details of Robinson's will, in which she left legacies to one of her sisters, a niece, and a nephew (Smith 1917–27: XVII, 2).

3. Anastasia Robinson: portraits

Anastasia Robinson is one of a small group of Handel's singers of whom portraits in oil, mezzotint, line engraving, and pen and ink caricature are available. Since these media belong to different social contexts, taken altogether they provide a well-rounded conception of the ways in which their subject was perceived by her contemporaries.

The most striking of the portraits of Anastasia Robinson, and the model for both prints, is the oil portrait executed by John Vanderbank in 1723 (*fig. 1*).¹⁸ Jacob Simon speculates that the painting passed from the descendants of Anastasia's husband, Charles Mordaunt, Third Earl of Peterborough, to the present holders who are very distantly related.

John Vanderbank (1694–1739) was a pupil of Sir Godfrey Kneller, the most famous and prolific portrait painter in England during the first decades of the eighteenth century. The son of a Huguenot weaver, Vanderbank studied at the Academy founded by court painter Godfrey Kneller from 1711 until 1720 when he and a French painter, Louis Chéron, founded a second academy. A "dissolute, extravagant man", Vanderbank was known to his contemporaries as an artist of great "natural ability" despite his lack of self-discipline (Whitley 1928: I, 15). As a portrait painter, he was prolific and popular. Ellis Waterhouse observes that "From 1723 one can point to signed and dated works for every year of his life. [...] The faces are admirably drawn" (1978: 181). By the 1730s, Vanderbank was established as one of the most fashionable portrait painters in London and patronized by the Royal family (Whitley 1928: I, 16).

The portrait of Anastasia Robinson, a three-quarter length, dates from the beginning of Vanderbank's career, and is suggestively similar to some of the portraits of Kneller. Vanderbank's work shows Robinson seated at the exact center of the canvas, with her body facing left but her head turned to the right. At the lower left of the painting, beneath her extended hands is a

16 Other references to a Lady Peterborough (who I believe to be Anastasia Robinson, and not her husband's heir's bride, as the editor's notes suggest) can be found in two 1737 letters of the Duchess of Portland (DeLany 1961, II, 611 and 618).

17 Cokayne's *Peerage* claims that "from 1745 to 1749 she was a pensionnaire at the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre of Liège" (1910–59: X, 502, n. 60). The editors cite no evidence to support this romantic notion.

18 John Vanderbank (1694–1739), *Anastasia Robinson, Countess of Peterborough* (1723), oil on canvas, 127 x 100.9 cm; private collection. — There is a very similar portrait (probably a copy) by an unknown artist in the collection of the Royal College of Music in London. See the entry for Robinson in Highfill's *Biographical Dictionary* (1990: XIII, 22–5) for a reproduction of the portrait and description of two other possible representations of the singer.



1. John Vanderbank, *Anastasia Robinson, Countess of Peterborough*. Private collection. – Photo: London, National Portrait Gallery



2. Sir Godfrey Kneller. *Lady Elizabeth Cromwell as Saint Cecilia*. Cliff House, collection of the Honorable J. E. S. Russell. – Photo: London, Courtauld Institute of Art

double-manual harpsichord. Behind Robinson on the left is a fold of rich drapery, partially illuminated. In the upper right Vanderbank has placed a bit of architectural detail, the edge of a door or a window, in the shadows. The light falls from above and to the right, and its source is not present in the picture.

Robinson is clothed in the style of the very early eighteenth century. Her gown has a fitted bodice, a low neckline with a “modesty piece” tucked into it, and long, narrow sleeves.¹⁹ The dark cloak or wrap cast over her right shoulder provides a striking contrast with her pale dress, creating more of the lushly complicated folds of drapery Baroque painters seem to have adored. The dress is a plain silk, considered “informal attire” in the 1720s and 30s, “suitable to be worn for taking tea, or playing cards, or just for sitting in a garden or on a terrace” (Ribiero 1984: 39). The impression of casualness is reinforced by the absence of hoops, which had come into fashion for formal wear during the previous decade.²⁰ Judging by costume alone, Robinson appears to be playing in a private and intimate setting (like any lady who was not a professional musician), rather than onstage as she did in her first concerts.

Robinson’s hair falls across her neck in the back and curls over her left shoulder. While her hair, dressed with ropes of beads or gems, suggests formal dress,²¹ she is not laden with jewels, as some of the titled subjects of Kneller’s portraits are, or as the Italian singers Farinelli, Bordoni, and Senesino are in later paintings. There is no overt display of wealth. Both her costume and her hairstyle are rather “old-fashioned” for the 1720s but are quite similar to an earlier painting by Kneller which Vanderbank may have used as a model.

Given his studies with Kneller and conventions of portrait painting in early eighteenth century London, it is a reasonable surmise that Vanderbank adapted a pre-existing pose to fit his portrait of Anastasia Robinson. The lighting, position of Robinson’s upper torso and arms, and her hairstyle and costume, including the cloak, are similar to those of the Kneller portrait of Lady Elizabeth Cromwell as St. Cecilia (fig. 2).²² This portrait, dated *circa* 1703, shows Lady Elizabeth “standing on clouds, playing the organ and attended by putti.” In his study of the painter’s work, J. Douglas Stewart further notes that a “version of the picture was given by the sitter to Congreve, and the subject may have been inspired by Congreve’s *Hymn to Harmony written in Honour of St. Cecilia’s Day* in 1703” (1983: 65). The English interest in St. Cecilia as patron saint of music is evidenced by the St. Cecilia’s Day festivals, which inspired Dryden’s famous song and Congreve’s hymn, as well as the Cromwell and Robinson portraits.

Despite similarities of pose and costume, Vanderbank has given Robinson’s face a different cast from the Kneller portrait. Instead of looking up to heaven, as Lady Cromwell does, Anastasia Robinson is looking off to the viewer’s right.²³ Her features are clear and by received

19 I believe Robinson is wearing a “wrapping gown”, like the *sacque*, “put on over the stays, but with a modesty piece or tucker made of fine linen showing at the bosom [...] a flexible garment, which could be quite formal when worn as a closed gown over the hoops of the second decade of the century, but could also be worn by middle- and lower-class women over petticoats” (Ribiero 1984: 36).

20 This poses an interesting question. Is Robinson’s lack of hoops a reflection of the fashions of an earlier period, a convenience for the sake of playing the harpsichord, or an accurate representation of the clothes suited to her family’s middle-class status?

21 The entwined beads (pearls?) in Robinson’s hair are found in other Vanderbank portraits (such as the *Lady in White* of 1736) and may have been inspired by similar coiffures in portraits by van Dyck and Lely (Ribiero 1983: 48).

22 Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723), *Lady Elizabeth Cromwell as Saint Cecilia* (1703), oil on canvas, 50.6×69.4 cm; Cliff House, collection of the Honorable J. E. S. Russell.

23 The averted gaze was also a favorite device of Kneller’s — “this device, which helps create an elegiac, thoughtful type of female portrait, becomes increasingly common from the [sixteen-] nineties. Indeed one can cite several dozen instances of Kneller’s use of this feature from this time on, though it seldom appears before.” (Stewart 1983: 45)

contemporary standards very attractive: light, smoothly curved eyebrows; large almond-shaped eyes; a long and rather broad nose, (minimized by the use of three-quarter profile); a well rounded jaw and small mouth. The appearance of the woman painted by Vanderbank accords well with the physical description Mrs. Delany gave of her friend, as “of a middling stature, not handsome, but of a pleasing, modest countenance, with large blue eyes.” (Burney 1957: II, 691).

St. Cecilia is supposed to have sung (in her heart) the night before her wedding (praying that her body and soul remain immaculate). Renaissance imaginations changed St. Cecilia’s song from an interior to an exterior one, and she was portrayed playing a variety of instruments, but most often the organ. In addition to music, St. Cecilia was associated with faith and virginity (not entirely appropriate to Robinson’s situation). While Cecilia was forced to marry, according to legend, her marriage with Valerian was chaste, and she converted him to Christianity. Both became martyrs for their faith. It seems important to remember religion here (even though the St. Cecilia festivals had created a fairly secular image of the saint). Anastasia Robinson (and, nominally, her husband) was a Catholic in a Protestant (Anglican) country, in which Roman Catholics were outnumbered and had been persecuted like the early Christians in Rome. Robinson’s character and position may also explain why the portrait was not given a specific title alluding to the St. Cecilia imagery, since the reputedly modest and religious Robinson might be expected to take a more serious view of being depicted as a saint than the Anglican aristocrat Lady Cromwell did.

The question of what (if anything) was intended by the allusions to St. Cecilia in Vanderbank’s painting is bound up in the commissioning of the portrait. Only Robinson and the Earl are assumed to have had any motives for ordering such a work, and would have been prepared for the time and expense involved. If Robinson, like Lady Cromwell, ordered a portrait of herself as St. Cecilia it would tell us something about her character. If the idea came from the Earl of Peterborough, it would say something about their relationship, and his vision of her.

Excursus. John Chaloner Smith suggests a connection between Robinson and Vanderbank, asserting that her father had studied with the painter. This, however, is not likely, given Vanderbank and Anastasia Robinson’s respective ages. As Anastasia was probably two years older than the man who painted her portrait, her father must have been at least twenty years older than Vanderbank, and therefore unlikely to be in need of lessons by the time Vanderbank was old enough to have offered them. The source of this misunderstanding probably lies in the fact that Robinson is a common name. Horace Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, mentions another Robinson (again, with no given name), “a young painter from Bath, [who] had been educated under Vandrebanks [*sic*] [and] died when he was not above thirty, in 1745.” (1826–28: IV, 100–1). According to *The Complete Peerage*, Anastasia’s father’s name was Thomas (Cokayne 1910–59: X, 502).

Although they did not have the close connection with Vanderbank that Chaloner Smith supposed, there is evidence that Anastasia Robinson and her family owned paintings either by her father or by other artists. In a letter to Alexander Pope dated 9 October 1725, Mrs. D. Robinson (probably Anastasia’s stepmother) writes concerning “Two Landskips. five black & white Prints, which goods I beg the favour, may be deliver’d” (Pope 1956: II, 325). At any rate, as the daughter of an artist, no doubt she was more familiar with the artists in London than she might have been if her father’s occupation had been music or one of the trades.

I would suggest that the portrait of Robinson by Vanderbank was commissioned, possibly by Robinson but more probably by the Earl of Peterborough, at the time of their marriage. While the commissioning of such a formal (and expensive) painting by the Earl would not necessarily imply matrimony, as formal portraits of kings’ and nobles’ mistresses are legion, the date and style of the portrait suggest to me some commemoration of their secret nuptials. The apparent lack of a ring on Robinson’s left hand provides no evidence either way, since during this period

rings “were sparingly worn and in portraits of married women a wedding ring is absent” (Cunningham and Cunningham 1955: 179).

The Vanderbank portrait, both dignified and informal, invites the viewer to a private musical performance by a modest and thoughtful-looking young woman (a domesticated saint?). The simplicity of the setting, and of Robinson’s attire (however derived), do not reflect the soprano’s public career in the world of the London opera with its elaborate costumes and grand effects, or the riches and title she would acquire by marriage, but the quiet private character in which she appeared to her family and was remembered by her friends.

A mezzotint executed by John Faber after the Vanderbank portrait in 1727 (*fig. 3*)²⁴ provides proof that she remained an object of interest to the public. John Faber, who studied at Vanderbank’s academy, engraved twenty out of the thirty mezzotints of Vanderbank portraits listed by Chaloner Smith (see the “Index of Painters”, vol. IV) along with literally hundreds of others.²⁵ Among Faber’s subjects, catalogued in Chaloner Smith’s comprehensive work, there are as many commoners as nobility — and members of both classes who seem to have been more notorious than famous (such as Bampfylde Moore Carew, “King of the Beggars”). Wax writes:

Engraved portraits were the public’s visual contact with people in the news, and printshop windows and walls were filled with mezzotints of favorite musicians, artists, architects, scientists, and literary figures [not to mention the nobility!]. Selling mezzotints this way provided free publicity for the subjects portrayed. So, for some patrons, having one’s portrait hung in every shop window was precisely the point of the exercise. [1990: 73]

In 1727, Vanderbank was still establishing himself as a fashionable portrait painter in London. He may have given Faber sketches or a copy of the Robinson portrait to engrave, for the sake of some good publicity. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the print’s appearance since Anastasia Robinson and the Earl of Peterborough had no reason to exert themselves to attract public notice. Although Robinson had retired from the stage, she had not withdrawn from society. She continued her friendship with Bononcini and held frequent concerts in conjunction with dinner parties hosted by the Earl of Peterborough. Robinson may have been of particular interest in 1727 because of the actions of the Earl of Peterborough. In 1727 Peterborough returned from an extensive tour of Italy — without her — (Ballard 1929: 282) and became involved in an important debate in Parliament that year (Warburton 1853: II, 206–7). While Robinson had been publicly linked to the Earl for some time, the evidence confirms later accounts that she was not yet acknowledged as his wife. The first run of the print was untitled, and in the second, she is simply referred to as “Mrs. Anastasia Robinson” (Chaloner Smith 1878–84: I, 417).

The print depicts the same scene and figure as the oil painting, but, the details are sharper, and Robinson’s features seem more regular than in the original representation, though this may be due in part to the reduction in size of the image. Her hair and eyes appear lighter, while the pattern of the brocade tapestry behind her and the face of the little cherub (or cupid) at her knee have much greater prominence than in the oil portrait. This is partially due to the fact that the direction of the light has been changed, so that rays seem to pass over the vertical

24 John Faber, Jr. (ca. 1695–1757), *Anastasia Robinson, Countess of Peterborough* (1727?), mezzotint after portrait by Vanderbank; London, British Museum, H.R.H. Beard Theatre Collection.

25 According to Walpole, Faber’s “first instructions he received from his father [John Faber Sr.]; afterwards he studied in Vanderbank’s academy.” (1826–28: V, 256)



J. Vanderbank Pinx. 1723

*M^{rs} Anastasia Robinson
When Robinson awakes the warbling St.
And with her heavenly voice, her sweetest strain
The sweetest music of the world is found.*

3. John Faber, Jr., *Anastasia Robinson, Countess of Peterborough*. London, British Museum, H.R.H. Beard Theatre Collection. – Photo: Museum

boundary (door or window) at the right of the print, and illuminate the space behind the sitter. This was probably done to preserve the contrast between the dark material of Robinson's wrap and the background (more difficult to do in black and white) by eliminating some of the shadows.²⁶

According to Chaloner Smith the print of "Mrs Robinson" ran for three issues (1878–84: I, 417). This is comparable with the popularity of later prints depicting other British singers who worked with Handel. John Beard, Susannah Cibber, and Kitty Clive (though the last two were also known as actresses) each appeared in three to eight prints, which ran for up to four issues each. This was a far better showing than the sales of mezzotint portraits of Senesino, "Gizziello" Conti, and Elisabetta DuParc, some of Handel's French and Italian singers. The popularity of Robinson's print probably reflects her perceived importance as a source of national pride, since she was the only English singer to achieve success in the Italian opera during the 1720s, as well as her connection with the Earl of Peterborough.

While the first run of Anastasia's mezzotint portrait was without inscription, the following two were accompanied by this verse:

When Robinson awakes the warbling Strings
And with her heavenly Voice responding Sings
The winged Graces float upon the Sound
Bless the sweet Airs, and smiling play around.

Such verses frequently appear attached to contemporary prints. The hyperbolic style of Anastasia Robinson's tribute is fairly typical, though use of proper names within the verse is less common (probably so that verses could be switched from one portrait to another if needed). The poems are generally brief, rarely more than a single quatrain, often in the "heroic" couplets popularized by Pope.

The mezzotint of Robinson stands within the tradition of prints of Kneller's portraits of women, such as the Hampton Court Beauties (see Stewart 1974). In addition to its decorative value, the Robinson mezzotint could serve as a souvenir for those who had followed Robinson's stage career, or satisfy a "gossip-magazine" type of curiosity on the part of those who speculated about her private life.

In 1776, twenty-one years after Anastasia Robinson's death, Sir John Hawkins included in his *General History* a line engraving of her, executed by one C. Grignion (fig. 4).²⁷ It is the only portrait Hawkins includes in his work of an English singer of Handel's generation.²⁸ The other singers depicted, Bordoni, Cuzzoni, Farinelli, and Senesino among them, are all famous Italians. I believe Robinson was included in this group of vocal superstars not for her vocal prowess, but because, by Hawkins' time, she had become a moral success story.

Upon the revelation of her secret marriage, Anastasia Robinson went from being simply another performer with questionable morals to an emblem of fidelity and virtue, embodying the triumph of middle-class morality over aristocratic extravagance (and possibly lasciviousness on

26 The change in light might have also been influenced by the St. Cecilia topos — with divine grace descending in conventional form as rays of light. The only St. Cecilia mezzotint listed in Chaloner Smith is a 1776 engraving of a Reynolds portrait with the subject "sitting on a low stool, in profile to left, [...] playing organ on left, behind it two children singing, above it a cloud, rays piercing through" (1878–1884: I, 196–7). The painting on which the mezzotint was based is fig. 52 in Leppert 1985.

27 C. Grignion [?], *Anastasia Robinson, afterwards Countess of Peterborough* (1776), line engraving from Vanderbank portrait or Faber mezzotint.

28 The only other English singer portrayed in Hawkins' volume of illustrations (indeed, the only non-Handelian singer portrayed at all) is Mrs. Arabella Hunt, who sang and played the lute at the court of William and Mary.

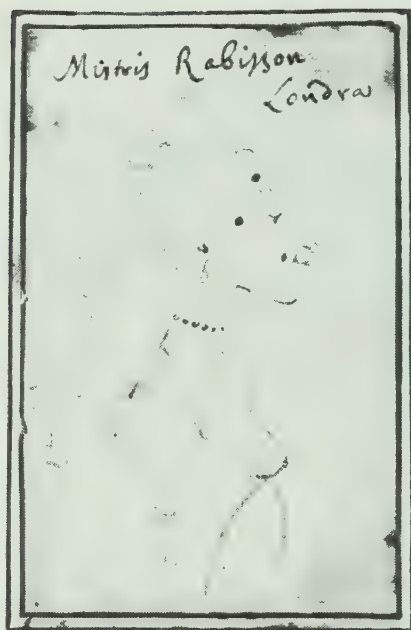


4. C. Grignion [?], *Anastasia Robinson, afterwards Countess of Peterborough*. – Photo after Hawkins 1853

the part of the ever-flirtatious Earl).²⁹ This moral triumph is the reason Hawkins gives a full chapter of his history of music to her biography, heavily emphasizing her “strictly virtuous disposition” and conduct (1853: 871). It is the amiable Countess of Peterborough (or Virtue Rewarded) whom Hawkins admires, and the increasing idealization of Anastasia Robinson (continued in further series of anonymous prints) moves farther away from portraiture and closer to a type.

The image is again that of Vanderbank’s painting, as the inscription states. The portrait has been cut to a small circle, enclosing just the head and shoulders, and the background has been left almost blank. Most of the space is filled with stippling in a cross-hatch pattern. However, the area behind her head is filled with lines only in one direction, making it appreciably lighter than the rest of the background. This is perhaps a carry-over from the patch of light behind the subject introduced into the portrait by Faber in his mezzotint. Robinson is now facing left, in reverse of the previously mentioned portraits (this is typical of line engravings copied from paintings, so that when the completed plate was inked and pressed on paper, the image emerged reversed). Once again slight changes in her appearance can be noted. In the Grignion engraving, Robinson’s eyebrows are darkened, giving a different emphasis to her features, and the ornaments in her hair are particularly prominent.

29 According to anecdote, Charles Mordaunt revealed a secret marriage (or married, after some form of an engagement) when Carey Fraser (who became his first wife) was discovered to be pregnant (Cokayne 1910–59: X, 502, n. d).



5. Anton Maria Zanetti, *Mistris Robisson, Londra*. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini. – Photo: Fondazione Cini

Excursus. Some later engraving and mezzotints have been erroneously identified as Anastasia Robinson. The print Francis Rogers reproduces in his article “Handel and five prima donnas” labelled “Mrs. Robinson: engraved by Ridley after an original drawing by Laurence” is one such (1943: following 216). Despite Rogers’s assumptions, it is highly unlikely that this portrait was intended to represent *Anastasia* Robinson, one of the subjects of his article. Anastasia was not by any means the only “Mistress Robinson” to grace the London stage. Others include her sister Elizabeth; Ann Turner Robinson, wife of an organist at Westminster Abbey and a frequent concertizer; the actress “Perdita” Robinson (mistress of the Prince Regent); or even Turner Robinson’s daughter, another concert singer. Any of these could conceivably have been the subject of “an eighteenth century print.” I would argue that it is either Ann Turner Robinson’s daughter, or some woman not yet mentioned, as the entire pose, person, and costume are reminiscent of Lady Emma Hamilton rather than Anastasia Robinson, and the subject does not resemble the portrait of “Perdita” Robinson I have seen. Her attire is characteristic of the Regency rather than Queen Anne or the early Georgian period, with its shawl collar, plain fitted sleeves and empire waistline, placed directly below the bust.

Although the caricature of “Mistris Robisson” by Anton Maria Zanetti (1680–1767) in the Cini album (*fig. 5*)³⁰ also cannot be automatically assumed to be Anastasia Robinson, there is good reason to believe that it does represent her, given the date assigned to the drawing by Alessandro Bettagno (1721), her fame (relative to that of her contemporary Ann Turner Robinson), her strong connections with the groups of Italian singers, composers, and artists living in London, and the likenesses that exist between it and the formal oil portrait by Vanderbank.

30 Anton Maria Zanetti (1680–1767), *Mistris Robisson, Londra* (1721?), pen and ink over pencil; Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

Zanetti was an internationally known collector, antiquarian, engraver, and caricaturist. His close friends included a number of Venetian artists, among them Sebastiano Ricci and Rosalba Carriera. In the spring of 1720, Zanetti traveled to Paris with Carriera and fellow artist Antonio Pellegrini, and visited Paris with Pierre Crozat before traveling on to London. Bettagno insists that comparison with the drawings of Margerita Durastanti and Francesca Cuzzoni with Nicolo Grimaldi, ("Nicolino"), indicates that the caricature was executed during Zanetti's London visit (1969: 67–8). He returned to Venice late in 1721 (Zampetti 1971: 108).³¹

The caricature of "Mistris Robisson" in the Cini album is preserved on an album leaf with eight other sketches (*fig. 6*).³² The placement of the caricature in the album, which Zanetti arranged himself, among other figures associated with Zanetti's 1720–21 trip to Paris and London, lends additional strength to the idea that the caricature of "Mistris Robisson" represents Anastasia Robinson. On the album leaf, a drawing of fellow artist Sebastiano Ricci is central. Ricci lived in England with his nephew Marco during the previous decade. Above the portrait of Ricci is a truly hideous caricature of Rosalba Carriera, with whom Zanetti stayed at the Crozats' in Paris on his way to and from London in 1721. Opposite the caricature of "Mistris Robisson/Londra" and facing it (across Sebastiano Ricci's rather portly expanse) is a drawing of Maria Maddalena Salvai, "Madame Salvai", an Italian soprano who was in London at the time. Like Robinson, she appeared at the Royal Academy under Durastanti (Dean 1980f.: 434). Salvai and Robinson sang together in operas and concerts several times, including at a concert on March 6th, 1722, "consisting of several songs chosen out of the last new Operas, and some new Cantatas, composed by Signor Bononcini" (Avery, 1960: II, 678). Salvai left London at the end of the 1722 season.

In Zanetti's caricature the figure is presented in profile facing right. As in all of the surrounding caricatures, save the larger one of Ricci, Zanetti has sketched in only the head and shoulders of the figure. The caricatured woman has a long nose, faint eyebrows, and a rounded jutting chin. The arrangement of her hair and cap strongly resembles one fashion described by Aileen Ribiero in her study of eighteenth-century costume, "a neat French swept-up coiffure with a tiny cap and pendant lappets" trailing behind.³³ In addition to her diminutive headgear, Zanetti drew his subject wearing a choker necklace and teardrop earrings, and (perhaps) a gown with considerable décolletage. Her face is marked with three patches. Such patches, usually made of black silk, were applied to the face as a fashionable affectation, and were sometimes assigned meanings based on their size, shape and location. According to a later source, a patch near the lips signaled a "coquette" (Ribiero 1984: 109). None of these accessories is unusual. While the outline of the figure is dark, the details are lighter and appear to have been sketched in haste. The hair and part of the face are covered with almost random pen strokes which may represent a thin veil, or simply be bleedthrough from another drawing.

Given that the purpose of caricature is exaggeration, the features of Zanetti's caricature tally well with those of the Vanderbank portrait.³⁴ Determining the mood of the subject is difficult, as the expression on the woman's face is a curious one. Her lips protrude slightly in a curious smirk. Describing a similar look, Henry Siddons writes: "If the prudence and address with

31 For more on Zanetti and his international connections, see Haskell 1963: 341–2 or Bettagno 1967.

32 Anton Maria Zanetti (1680–1767), album leaf with 9 caricatures including *fig. 5*, above: Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

33 Ribiero 1983: 47, see pl. 38 and pl. 27 on p. 38.

34 In reference to Consul Smith's album, composed chiefly of caricatures of opera singers, Edward Croft-Murray states "Italian caricature is essentially an expression of the Baroque Age: the word itself, *caricatura* (literally "load, overload"), only comes into being in the seventeenth century." (Blunt and Croft-Murray 1957: 138)



6. Anton Maria Zanetti, album leaf with 9 caricatures including fig. 5, above. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini. – Photo: Fondazione Cini

which we have gained a point excite our self-admiration. then a fugitive smile will just simper on the cheek, and play about the lips" (1807: 146).³⁵ While self-satisfaction is not the only interpretation which could be made, if the veil is truly a veil (perhaps added later by Zanetti) it could be in reference to an event which Robinson had some right to simper and feel pleased about, though the initial gesture predated it.

In this sketch Zanetti preserved the image of a sharp-nosed woman of fashion with a satisfied smile — very different from the calm dignified beauty of Vanderbank's oil and the portrait prints. Like the humour in Robinson's letter to Riva, the caricature humanizes the near-saint of the memoirs compiled by Hawkins and Burney, for whom the Vanderbank portrait became an emblem of virtue.

4. Faustina Bordoni: biography³⁶

While most of the facts in Bordoni's biography are clear, secondary sources do not agree on the exact date of her birth. It is thought to be very shortly before or at the turn of the century. While Bordoni is supposed to have been born into one of the patrician families of Venice, her parents (indeed, relatives of any sort) are not named. She may have been illegitimate, or the product of an alliance unsanctioned by the ruling council (in Venice during the eighteenth century, aristocratic marriages remained subject to strict governmental supervision).

Bordoni first rose to prominence in her home city, where she trained her voice under the patronage of the brothers Alessandro and Benedetto Marcello (author of *Il teatro alla moda*, 1720), both wealthy musical dilettantes. Her singing instructor was the composer Michelangelo Gasparini,³⁷ and she may have been coached by the famous castrato Antonio Maria Bernacchi, who also figures prominently in Zanetti's album of caricatures (see Petrobelli 1985).

Although Hawkins and Burney understandably spend more time and space describing the wonders of Bordoni's spectacular debut in Handel's *Alessandro* and her two London seasons (1726–1728) with the Royal Academy than anything else, Burney does cite her first appearance in Venice. Her first stage role was the princess Ginevra in the opera *Ariodante* (by C. F. Pollarolo) in 1716 (1957: II, 738). Accounts of her success were extravagantly related and repeated. According to Hawkins, stories were told of people in Venice leaving their sickbeds to hear her sing (1853: II, 873).

Bordoni met with great acclaim from her audiences, first in Italy and then in London, where she was feverishly anticipated and enthusiastically received. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, writing to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, commented "Je suis persuadé qu'elle reveillera le goût des Anglois pour l'opera."³⁸ Mrs. Delany, friend to Handel and to Anastasia Robinson, referred to Bordoni as "the charming Faustina, who is the most agreeable creature in the world" and was

35 From his treatise *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action*. Siddons based his work on a translation of Johann Jakob Engel's *Ideen zu einer Mimik*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1788). In referring to handbooks on gesture, I follow the lead of Dene Barnett, who holds that the "rules used by eighteenth-century actors as a guide for body posture were to a large degree common to acting, painting, and sculpture, for these rules were also widely used by painters and sculptors in their representation of the human figure." (1981: 1)

36 Since Faustina Bordoni (thanks to her famous rivalry with Cuzzoni and her association with Hasse) has remained a more familiar figure to scholars and enthusiasts of opera than Anastasia Robinson, I felt this brief biography would suffice.

37 (ca. 1670–ca. 1732) composer and teacher, brother of the more famous Francesco Gasparini.

38 "I am convinced that she will reawake the taste of the English for the opera." Written to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. The letter is dated 12 February, 1726 (Montagu, 1965: II, 60).

“ravished by her melodious voice” in a letter to her sister in 1727 (Delany 1861: I, 129). Unlike Cuzzoni, of whom Delany has some much less complimentary things to say, Bordoni seems to have been successful in maintaining cordial relations with her admirers in London. Unfortunately for the London opera, she did not stay long.

After the Royal Academy failed at the end of 1728, the singer returned to Venice, passing through Paris on her way. While in France she stayed with Pierre Crozat, friend of Zanetti and fellow-Venetian artist Rosalba Carriera. Despite the relative failure of his plans for the summer of 1723, Crozat remained a staunch supporter of Italian opera in France and arranged for Bordoni to perform in a concert there (Lindgren 1977: 26).

Within two years of her return from London, amid performances in a host of Italian cities as well as Vienna and Munich, Bordoni met the German composer Johann Adolf Hasse, “il caro Sassone,” and married him in a secret ceremony on 24 June 1730 (Hansell 1970: 284, n. 5). While Hasse was appointed *primo maestro di capella* at Dresden in 1730, Bordoni apparently did not join him at the Elector’s court until 1731. Instead, she remained in Italy fulfilling singing engagements there (Nichols and Hansell 1980: 280).

Bordoni’s debut at Dresden was in a performance of Hasse’s opera *Cleofide* in July 1731 (for which she was paid twice as much as he was), that may have been attended by J. S. Bach and his elder sons. Bordoni and Hasse remained together at Dresden, in the employ of the Elector, later Augustus III of Poland, for the next thirty years, and raised a family.

Although they held important positions in the musical hierarchy of the Elector’s court, Bordoni and her husband often took long leaves of absence in order to compose for and perform in opera houses in other European cities. Bordoni was in Venice for the 1738–39 opera season, and in Paris with Hasse in 1750. For the purpose of this article it is noteworthy that while they were in Dresden in the 1740s, Hasse made the acquaintance of Count Francesco Algarotti — author, agent, and ambassador — who further interested him in the poetry of Metastasio. Bordoni retired from the opera stage in 1751, but she continued to draw a salary as Augustus’ *virtuosa da camera*, giving concert performances with chamber ensembles as she had throughout her career. Threat of war in 1763 finally forced the couple to move to Vienna, where they lived for several years.

While making his tour of Europe in 1770 gathering materials for his history of music, Charles Burney briefly met Bordoni, Hasse, and their daughters during his first week in Vienna, and visited them again during the second. In his description of the meeting, Burney provides a detailed portrait of the retired singer and her family.

We found all the family at home, and our visit was truly chearful [*sic*] and social. Signora Faustina is very conversable, and is still possessed of much curiosity concerning what is transacting in the world. She has likewise good remains, for seventy-two, of that beauty for which she was so much celebrated in her youth, but none of her fine voice! I asked her to sing — *Ah non posso!* — *ho perduto tutte le mie facoltà*. Alas I am no longer able, said she, I have lost all my faculties. [Scholes 1959: II, 107]

Burney has nothing but praise for her husband, Hasse, approving both his music and his manners. After describing Hasse’s vast output of compositions, Burney observes of the couple’s two daughters that “both have good shakes, and such an expression, taste, and steadiness, as it is natural to expect in the daughters and scholars of Signor Hasse and Signora Faustina.” (*ibidem*: II, 108)

The visits proved very useful to Burney. He obtained information about Hasse’s compositions from their source; in one charming moment, she offers to help Hasse try to list as many of his compositions as he can, as he admits he does not remember them all (*ibidem*: II, 109).

From Bordoni, “a living volume of musical history”, he heard numerous anecdotes about Handel and the operatic stars of the first half of the century.

Bordoni, unlike her rival Francesca Cuzzoni, seems to have been realistic about her vocal powers, and to have retained her social graces as she aged. This explains the continuing affection in which her friends and admirers held her, for while it is one thing to have a beautiful voice, an attractive personality wears better. It seems clear from Burney’s narrative that Bordoni’s charm was still winning her compliments long after her physical gifts had faded. Three years after Burney’s visit, the family moved to Venice, where Bordoni died in 1781. The death of her husband followed two years later.³⁹

5. Faustina Bordoni: portraits

Faustina Bordoni appears, from the available evidence, to have been the most painted prima donna of her era. No doubt physical attractiveness played its part. A partial Burney asserts that

her professional perfections were enhanced by a beautiful face, a symmetric figure, though of small stature, and a countenance and gesture on the stage, which indicated an entire intelligence and possession of the several parts she had to represent.⁴⁰

Beautiful, supremely talented, and enormously successful, she also owed some of her abundant good fortune to her ability to make and maintain friendships with a wide circle of artists and performers, while pleasing her aristocratic patrons.

Faustina Bordoni’s operatic debut is commemorated (and Burney’s date for it verified) by a caricature by Anton Maria Zanetti, preserved in the Cini album (*fig. 7*).⁴¹ Zanetti’s caricature is a full length drawing of a slender girlish figure in an elaborate formal gown with her hands clasped together in front of her below the waist. Her body faces left and her head is turned in profile to the left. Her hair is dressed with an upstanding spray of feathers, and collected into a bunch of curls at the back of the head. She wears large earrings and although only the left side of her face is visible, it is dotted with no less than five patches, or “beauty spots”. Since the caricature of “Mistris Robisson” has three spots and that of Margherita Durastanti (according to her contemporaries, anything but a beauty) only two, these might represent some kind of rating system (or simply be poking fun at Bordoni’s perceived vanity).⁴²

The position of Bordoni’s hands is suited to her age and character in 1716. They are very carefully drawn and heavily outlined, nestled inside each other, back to palm, with the thumbs out as if she is twisting them together. This position is suggestively similar to the illustration in John Bulwer’s *Chirologia* (1644) of “Innocence”.⁴³ Obviously the date of Bulwer’s treatise

39 This summary is a potpourri of various secondary sources, most of which repeat each other. Most of the information can be found in Burney and in Dean 1980a.

40 1957: II, 738. Both Hawkins and Burney comment on her beauty, where Anastasia Robinson receives a mixed review and their mutual rival Cuzzoni is condemned as ugly, redeemed only by her incredible voice.

41 Anton Maria Zanetti (1680–1767), *La Signora Faustina* (1716), pen and ink over pencil; Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

42 As noted in the discussion of the Robinson caricature, such patches, when not assumed for cosmetic reasons, often had social significance and could indicate the wearer’s character or mood. I have been unable to find any information specific to Venice.

43 This observation was made by comparing Bordoni’s hand position with those in an appendix of an unpublished doctoral thesis on eighteenth-century acting techniques and opera by Nicholas Soloman (Manhattan School of Music, 1986), a copy of which I obtained from Elaine Biagi-Turner.



7. Anton Maria Zanetti, *La Signora Faustina*. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini. – Photo: Fondazione Cini

makes any direct connection unlikely. However, dramatic conventions remained relatively stable during the late seventeenth century, and the characterization is appropriate.

Further analysis of Bordoni's pose in the drawing gives a sense of the young opera star as Zanetti saw her.⁴⁴ Despite the lavish costuming, embroidery, jewelry, elaborately coiffed hair, and a hooped skirt twice as big as she is, Bordoni's pose is modest, quiet and contained — if one disregards the determined tilt of her chin. This may simply be a reflection of her small stature (she probably literally had to look up at her co-stars) or to a personality unconfined by maidenly bashfulness (and she was, after all, appearing in the role of the wronged princess, Ginevra). Bordoni is standing quietly, perhaps listening to another character onstage, or waiting for the end of an orchestral interlude or introduction to an aria. The majority of Zanetti's drawings from the opera capture such still moments. Although some of the full-length caricatures, like that of Carestini, are gesturing dramatically, very few are actually singing. The caricature of Anton Bernacchi discussed by Petrobelli (1985: 136) is an exception.

In keeping with Bordoni's status both as ingenue making her debut and as a protégé of the Marcellos, Zanetti's caricature of her is larger, more carefully drawn, and far less grotesque than many of the others — for example, that of Rosalba Carriera (*fig. 6*, top center). Aside from the fussy effect of the beauty spots, Bordoni's features are not at all distorted. The corner of her mouth is drawn turning up in the hint of a smile, and two tiny pointed toes peek out from under the full skirt of her gown. Even in caricature (and this is definitely a mild example of Zanetti's work in the genre), she is charming.

44 Tilman Seebass first suggested that Bordoni's pose is significant since she is clearly (from the position of her shoulders and hands) acting rather than singing.
I am grateful for this and for many other pieces of advice freely offered over the past months. Without Dr. Seebass's guidance and encouragement — and patience — this work would never have progressed beyond my initial seminar project.

A similar drawing by Marco Ricci is in the Consul Smith album at Windsor Castle (the collection was given to George III of England by Smith in 1762).⁴⁵ Joseph Smith was a British businessman who settled in Venice and eventually became British consul there. His ties to the related worlds of opera and art are numerous. Most significantly, he was personally acquainted with most of the artists represented by drawings in his album, including Marco Ricci and Anton Maria Zanetti.⁴⁶

Among the Venetian artists known and patronized by Consul Smith was the miniaturist and portrait painter Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757). Like Bordoni, Carriera was a Venetian woman whose extraordinary talents and hard work enabled her to obtain and retain the respect and admiration of her contemporaries. In some ways, this was easier for Bordoni since, as Sani observes “[che] la musica era uno dei pochi campi in cui la donna poteva eccellere nel Settecento” (1988: 15), and her personal attractions certainly placed her at an advantage. Carriera herself was an amateur performer and was familiar with the world of music and musicians. The two women apparently became friends sometime before 1729, when Pierre Crozat, in Paris, received a letter from her by way of Bordoni’s maidservant (Sani 1985: II, 495). Later references to Bordoni in Carriera’s collected correspondence are few and brief, but affectionate.

Of the six portraits of Bordoni I have been able to study, four are by Carriera (three pastels and one miniature: *figs. 8, 10, 12, and 13*). The four portraits were executed over a period of several years, and provide a fascinating record of the different ways the same artist chose to depict the famous soprano.

The first portrait (*fig. 8*)⁴⁷ was probably painted in 1724. Bernardina Sani believes that it is the work referred to in Carriera’s diary on 11 March of that year: “Incominciato Faustina” (1988: 298). In this painting, Bordoni is portrayed in a style closely resembling the one Carriera used in her decorative allegorical representations of figures like Spring or Poetry. This is significantly different from the still idealized but more formal way Carriera painted her noble sitters.⁴⁸ The loose draperies, bared breast, and symbolic attribute Bordoni carries are characteristics reproduced in Carriera’s picture *La Musica* (*fig. 9*), though Lady Music holds a lyre instead of a score.⁴⁹

La Musica belongs to the genre of paintings for which Rosalba Carriera was most famous during her lifetime. These “fancy pieces” were allegorical depictions of the arts and sciences, the seasons, the continents, or the elements, embodied as playful, beautiful women. While the tradition of portraying Music as a woman bearing an instrument goes back to the medieval period in Western Europe,⁵⁰ Carriera’s Lady Music is far from any medieval model, being clearly designed “more to delight than to instruct”. Her musical attribute, the lyre, is relatively small, off to one side of the painting, and half-hidden under her arm. Her hands are clasped

45 Three very similar albums of eighteenth-century Italian caricatures, chiefly of Venetian opera singers, are known to exist: the Cini and Consul Smith albums previously mentioned and another surviving in dismembered pages, incomplete, which once belonged to Count Francesco Algarotti, and was probably copied from the Consul Smith album.

46 For further information see Vivian 1971: 9–16 and 19–41.

47 Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757), *Ritratto di Faustina Bordoni* (1724?), pastel, 44.5×33.5 cm; Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

48 See, for example, pl. 136 opposite the portrait of Bordoni (Sani 1988).

49 Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757), *La Musica* (ca. 1730), pastel; private collection. — *La Musa Clio* (Sani 1988: pl. 282) and *La Poesia* (*ibidem*: pl. 283) are similar to these, as well as to each other.

50 See Tilman Seebass, “Lady Music and her protégés: from musical allegory to musicians’ portraits,” *Musica Disciplina* 1988: 23–61, and for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in particular, Guidobaldi 1987/88.



8. Rosalba Carriera, *Ritratto di Faustina Bordon*. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister. – Photo: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abt. Deutsche Fotothek



9. Rosalba Carriera, *La Musica*. Private collection. – Photo: London, Courtauld Institute of Art

about it, but not touching the strings. The focus of the painting instead is on the expanse of snowy shoulder, half-exposed breast, and beautiful face of the figure, with her slight smile and contemplative look. Here, Lady Music is no longer “a symbol for learnedness” (Seebass 1988: 35) but an alluring amusement for the musical dilettante, amateur performer or patron, like Consul Smith.

In the first Carriera portrait (*fig. 8*) Faustina Bordoni is just as beautiful and alluring as any of the imaginary, idealized women the painter created. As is often found in Carriera’s pastel portraits, the background of the piece is neutral and only Bordoni’s head and shoulders are shown. Carriera poses Bordoni with her head slightly tilted to the left, facing right, but looking forward.

The singer is depicted *en déshabillée*, a bodice strap showing across her left shoulder with a froth of lace and cloth below it. Her dark hair is gently drawn back and ornamented with a small spray of flowers. From her right earlobe hangs a teardrop pearl earring in a hoop of gold. One curl has come loose from the braids wrapped around the back of her head and falls over her shoulder, adding to the sense of graceful and seductive disarray.⁵¹ Her left breast is bared, and pointed directly at the viewer. The very daring nature of this pose (for a real woman, not an allegorical nymph) is perhaps best illustrated by comparison with the Nazari portrait (*fig. 11*), painted after Bordoni’s marriage to Hasse (in which she is very fully clothed).

The attitude of Bordoni’s head and shoulders in *figure 8*, along with her facial expression, reinforces the sense of relaxed sensuality created by her clothing and hairstyle. Instead of facing the viewer squarely, she glances sideways from half-closed eyes. The position of the upper body, with the head cocked back, and the drooping eyelids are similar to those of the figure illustrating “Voluptuous Indolence” in Henry Siddons’s treatise on gesture (1807: opposite p. 136). In the text Siddons describes “a soft sensation of voluptuous indolence, with eyes swimming in pleasure, and half-concealed under their lids” (1807: 137). However, in Carriera’s portrait of Bordoni, while the pose may be indolent, the eyes, for all their heavy lids, are alert and even amused. She is playing the part of a seductress, with all of its accepted trappings, but there are other thoughts awake behind the pose.

The small rosebud mouth with sharply upturned corners strongly resembles the one in Zanetti’s drawing of the singer (*fig. 7*). However, in the Carriera portrait Bordoni’s lips are painted slightly open. As Franca Camiz notes, parted lips were “considered lascivious” but they could also be open to depict the subject’s readiness to sing (1988: 171). Both readings are applicable here; the roles of seductress and singer are intertwined.

Like Carriera’s Lady Music, the figure of the singer holds a musical attribute that is relegated to the margins of the painting. In her right hand, at the very bottom of the space, Bordoni holds two leaves of handwritten vocal music. The drawing is careless and the score smudged. It seems to be written in alto clef (suitable for the famous mezzo-soprano) from the position of the blotches which indicate sharps and the height of the few clear notes above the staff, but the notes and text are only roughly sketched in, and I have been unable to transcribe them. As in *La Musica*, the symbol of the subject’s musical associations, while obviously important, is given little space in the painting, and depicted with relatively little attention to detail. The viewer’s gaze is focused instead on face and flesh.

In the Carriera pastel, Bordoni’s head and shoulders are roughly life-sized, creating an illusion of intimacy, as the singer seems to lean back and survey the viewer from beneath her

51 “A sweet disorder in the dress/Kindles in clothes a wantonness.” Robert Herrick “Delight in Disorder”, 1648. (*The Norton Anthology of Poetry*, 3rd edition, New York 1983: 243).



10. Rosalba Carriera. *Ritratto di Faustina Bordoni*. Vienna. Graphische Sammlung Albertina. – Photo: Lichtbildwerkstätte “Alpenland”

lashes. This type of portrait, for which Carriera was famous throughout Europe, was seen as particularly Venetian. Throughout the eighteenth century the arts both created and maintained Venice's reputation as a "cosmopolitan city of pleasure" (Haskell 1963: 276). To visitors from colder climes, Venice advertised itself as the cultural playground of Europe. It was known as the home of painting, music, intrigue, and some of the world's most beautiful women. The pastel portrait by Carriera is a portrait not only of Faustina Bordoni as an individual, but of a certain place and time and type of person — halfway between a "straight" portrait and one of Carriera's "fancy pieces". In the 1724 portrait Carriera suggests the seductive sights and sounds of the Venetian opera houses, as embodied in one of their most famous performers.

It is difficult to see the same woman who posed for the previous pastel in the miniature (*fig. 10*).⁵² There is a definite contrast, even though Sani assigns them chronologically close dates. Though the picture was probably executed in 1725, the last year she lived and sang regularly in Venice, Bordoni appears much younger than in *figure 8*. This effect could be due in part to her simple dress, rather wild hair, and lack of ornament. The rounded features, large dark eyes, still slightly closed, and the pronounced singer's muscles around the jaw retain a likeness to the first portrait; however, her attire and expression suggest an entirely different persona, not idealized and voluptuous, but human, questioning. Again, her lips are slightly parted, as if preparing to sing.

Bordoni, visible from the waist up, is casually clothed in a pink front-laced bodice under an open robe of blue material, probably silk. Around her neck she wears a lace-edged handkerchief with the ends knotted loosely. Behind her curves the back of the chair on which she is seated.

As in *figure 8*, Bordoni holds a written score. However, in the miniature, the score occupies a far greater portion of the overall space, and has been carefully enough drawn that some of it is legible, despite its small scale. The leaves of the music book consist of five staves on each side. Four of these are filled, the fifth, at the bottom of each page, is left blank. The four staves are paired, a line written in alto clef with a text underlaid accompanied by a textless bass line (a continuo part). The book has been drawn so that the verso shown is the end of a song in duple meter. The words are slurred together and illegible, unlike the round and careful printing at the beginning of the following song.

The song on the recto of the next page is in triple meter, possibly in e minor from the key signature and final notes (probably B's) before the repeat sign in the alto and bass. The text begins "Porto in senno [*sic?*] un cor.../Esse ... no' sa uni sospirar: ||". I have not been able to identify the music. Searching indices and works lists I turned up one possible lead — in a book of "canzonetts" for contralto. The song, "Porto in seno un certo core", is attributed to Alessandro Scarlatti. I have not been able to look at a score of the piece to confirm or deny that it is the one Bordoni is holding in the miniature.⁵³

The fragments of text that can be read are appropriate to the intimate nature of the miniature portrait (often carried near or on the breast) and its lovely subject. Faustina Bordoni left Venice for Vienna and stayed away from August 1725 until March 1726 (Dean 1980a: 46). Could the charming miniature with the sentimental text have been made for someone she was leaving behind in Venice (or for Hasse to take with him to Naples)?

52 Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757), *Ritratto di Faustina Bordoni* (1725?), tempera on ivory, 7.9×6.6 cm; Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

53 The music manuscript is BM Add. 31512 no. 30, fol. 98b. I found the reference in Hughes-Hughes 1906–09. Although it may just be a coincidence, I find it interesting that Hasse studied with Scarlatti — and was employed in Naples from 1725 to 1729 (Nicholls and Hansell 1980: 279).



11. Bartolomeo Nazari, *Faustina Bordoni*. London. Chaucer Fine Arts Gallery. – Photo: Gallery

Portraits of Bordoni besides those executed by Carriera include a watercolour by Vernon after a miniature by Anton Rafael Mengs⁵⁴ and a formal oil portrait by Bartolomeo Nazari (1699–1758). Nazari was a well known portrait artist in Venice. Among other subjects, he also painted the famous castrato Farinelli.

Nazari's portrait (*fig. 11*)⁵⁵ shows the formal gravity typical of court portraits. The date given, *ca.* 1735, would place this portrait during Bordoni's residence at Dresden. The portrait might have been commissioned by one of her admirers there, possibly the Elector himself. Jacob Simon suggests that it was painted for Field Marshal Johann Mathias Reichsgraf von der Schulenburg, a military leader who served the Venetian Republic and apparently owned several other Nazari portraits, and from whose descendants it was purchased by the present owners.⁵⁶

In the Nazari portrait, a three-quarter length of slightly greater dimensions than Vanderbank's painting of Anastasia Robinson, Bordoni is displayed seated in a gilded leather-bound chair playing a lute, in front of a table covered with a fringed and patterned cloth, on which, at left, rest a large ornamental urn, an open book of music, and an inkwell. Aside from the covered table at the left of the painting and the back of the chair at the right, which frame the sitter, Nazari has left the background neutral. It is a dark unspecified space from which Bordoni and the objects surrounding her emerge.

Bordoni's facial expression, with lips firmly closed, does not give anything away — it is not clear if she has been singing while accompanying herself on the lute, or playing alone. She seems to have paused while playing, her fingers still resting on the strings.

Bordoni is richly dressed in a fur-trimmed velvet coat with slashed sleeves over a gold brocade gown trimmed with lace and jewels; her hair is curled and powdered. This symbolic display of wealth and status was an important part of the image of the successful courtier or performer in the eighteenth century. The desired effect was one of worldly magnificence. Similar ornate costuming can be seen in the portraits of her contemporaries Senesino and Farinelli and in the figure of the singer entertaining the young wife at her toilette in Hogarth's series of paintings (later engravings) *Marriage à la Mode*.

In addition to the status implied by the magnificence of her costume, there may be another message to be read in Bordoni's clothing. The fur bands at the edges of the velvet coat could be a playful reference to Bordoni's patron, Augustus III of Poland, for during this period jackets with fur trimmings were known as "à la polonoise" (Ribiero 1984: 40). The style later became quite popular in France, where fur-trimmed robes were associated with the exotic traditional costumes of Eastern Europe (Ribiero 1983: 74). At any rate the fur-trimmed velvet Bordoni wears would be associated by knowledgeable viewers with the country whose monarch she served.⁵⁷

In the luxurious surroundings of the Nazari portrait one can find allusions not just to Bordoni's patron but to her husband as well. Light falls on the singer from the right, casting her shadow on an open book of music — perhaps no more than several folios attached together, since no cover or binding is visible. The presence of the inkwell on the table beside it implies that the fragments of music begun on the open folio are in the process of being written out. The music book could

54 reproduced (badly) in Hogwood 1984: following p.92.

55 Bartolomeo Nazari (1699–1758), *Faustina Bordoni* (*ca.* 1735), oil on canvas, 134 x 106 cm; London, Chaucer Fine Arts.

56 Simon, 1985: 126. For more about Schulenberg and his collection, see Binion 1976: 89–93.

57 References to a patron within a portrait of a singer can be seen (in a much more straightforward form) in the portrait of Farinelli by Corrado Giaquinto (Camiz 1988: 182–3 and Hertz 1984: 362–4), in which a portrait within a portrait places his patrons, the King and Queen of Spain, above and behind the famous castrato.

have been intended to represent the singer's relationship with her husband, Hasse, and the music they made together. While there are notes visible on the left-hand side, Nazari has left the page on the right blank, indicating the music and the years that lie ahead of them.

It is tempting to assume that the music is something Hasse has just written for her. Although it is difficult to judge from the reproduction, the notes appear to be a bass line, perhaps to the piece Bordini is playing on the lute. While it is also possible that Bordini herself has written the music, if such is the case then one must wonder what has become of the quill pen she must have used, which is not visible. The absent pen can be read as a reference to Bordini's husband Hasse, given the symbolism (at the risk of being excessively Freudian and anachronistic) of pens and inkwells, which plays out very nicely given Hasse's actual vocation as a writer of music.

Bordini's dignified pose, the luxurious surroundings, the sumptuousness of her costume — with or without the implied references to Hasse and their patron — make it clear that the Nazari portrait is a formal representation of a successful career, quite unlike the charming casualness of Carriera's first pastel and miniature (*figs. 8 and 10*) painted about ten years earlier.

The two subsequent pastels by Carriera (*figs. 12 and 13*) are both dated "circa 1740" by Sani, and could have been made in 1739, when Bordini was again in Venice. Both show the head and shoulders of an older woman, against Carriera's conventional neutral background. The two portraits are very similar. Though the attributes given (a laurel wreath in one and a twist of pearls in the other) are different, the figures correspond at numerous points, such as the position of the head, the lighting, the straying curl of hair encroaching on the forehead at the left, the expression of the mouth, and the pearl earrings. While the first two points may be coincidence as similarities of pose and lighting are common among many Carriera pastels, even those of different subjects, the details, such as the errant lock of hair and the earrings are more substantial similarities.

Given these striking similarities, it is possible that one of these pastels is a slightly altered copy of the other. The practice of copying was quite common during this period, and members of Carriera's studio (a younger sister and various students) often produced copies of her works to be sold.⁵⁸ Francis Haskell includes an anecdote of this practice in his description of Consul Smith's patronage of Rosalba Carriera:

In the end, his large collection of pastel portraits formed the best known group of her paintings in Venice: in particular it contained what was universally recognised to be her masterpiece, *Winter*, represented (in Smith's words) by a "Beautiful Female covering herself with a Pelisse allowed to be the most excellent this Virtuosa ever painted." Smith commissioned two versions of this, and after keeping the one he liked best for himself, he sent the other to a friend. [1963: 303]

One, at least, of the portraits may have been commissioned by Augustus III of Poland, if they were indeed painted during Bordini's visit to Venice in 1738–39. However, the first of these two pastels is housed in the Ca' Rezzonico in Venice, and may be assumed to have been part of Consul Smith's collection. The other, now in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, could have been painted for Augustus III, or acquired later. Haskell notes that "Francesco Algarotti returned to his native city [Venice] in 1743 especially to purchase pictures for the King whom he was then serving" and returned with a great many works including "portraits and fantasy pieces" by Nazari (1963: 294–5). The Venetian connection is particularly significant since Hasse and Bordini apparently met Algarotti in the 1740s, and Augustus III, their patron, was passionately fond of Carriera's work and collected it avidly (Haskell 1963: 295).

58 For more on Carriera's studio and other artists' workshops in Venice during this period, see Binion, 1975, 39–48.



12. Rosalba Carriera, *Ritratto di Faustina Bordoni*. Venice, Museo di Ca' Rezzonico. – Photo: Museum



13. Rosalba Carriera, *Ritratto di Faustina Bordoni*. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister. – Photo: Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

In the first portrait (*fig. 12*),⁵⁹ Bordoni is richly arrayed, and faces outward with a confident expression.⁶⁰ Here, Bordoni is shown in the strength of maturity. Like the Nazari portrait (*fig. 11*) she displays the accoutrements of success, her elegant dress and fine pearl jewelry. Pearls were “age-old symbols of love and fidelity” (Ribiero 1984: 112), and thus appropriate to her married state.

In contrast to the earlier Carriera portraits (particularly *fig. 8*), she is not seductive or wistfully charming. This 1740 Faustina Bordoni is secure in her position and does not need to invite attention. She is attractive, but reserved. The emphasis is on Bordoni as an individual personality, rather than as a singer, for she is depicted without any scores or instruments, the tools of her trade, and her lips are firmly closed. Carriera seems to assume that any viewer will already know who Bordoni is and what wonderful things happen when she opens her mouth to sing, so the portrait does not need to make any explicit musical allusions.

In the second, smaller pastel (*fig. 13*),⁶¹ Bordoni is portrayed with a laurel wreath about her brows, and again, the teardrop pearl earrings. The laurel wreath may be a reference to the fact that Bordoni, like many other female singers in Italy, was sometimes called the tenth Muse. Her features, with the heavy dark eyebrows and slight double chin (the result of unnumbered hours

59 Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757), *Ritratto di Faustina Bordoni* (ca. 1740), pastel, 47 × 35 cm; Venice, Museo di Ca’ Rezzonico.

60 This portrait is reproduced in color by Zampetti (1969: the eleventh plate after the introduction). It is perhaps a little disappointing, as the colors seem to have faded. More information about Rosalba Carriera can be found *ibidem*: 158–79.

61 *Ritratto di Faustina Bordoni* (ca. 1740), pastel, 30 × 26 cm; Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.



SIGNORA FAUSTINA.

14. C. Grignion [?], *Signora Faustina*. – Photo after Hawkins 1853

of singing) are not softened. Again, the scores and instruments of the earlier Carriera and Nazari portraits are absent. In this portrait the drooping eyelids create an expression which is abstracted, contemplative, though still aware of the viewer. The sense of self-sufficiency in this final pastel is similar in mood and effect to some of Carriera's self-portraits from this period (Sani, 1988: pl. 315), in which she too, often wears a symbolic wreath and presents herself in a starkly realistic style.

Chaloner Smith lists no British mezzotints of Bordoni, a gap that could be accounted for by the relatively short amount of time she spent in London. The related practical and artistic reason may have been that since all of the portraits of Bordoni were painted by continental artists, no British engraver had the access to them necessary to make prints. All of the mezzotints of her Italian contemporaries, such as Senesino, which Chaloner Smith lists were engraved after portraits by British artists.

A line engraving of Faustina Bordoni (fig. 14)⁶² appears in Hawkins' *History* in the same format as that of Anastasia Robinson. The inscription around the lower circumference of the circular frame reads "Rosalba pinxit" and "C. Grignion sculp". The coquettish tilt of the head, pearl ornaments and fancy dress are fairly characteristic of Carriera's lighter style, though it is not a strict copy of any of the paintings in Bernardina Sani's catalog of Carriera's work, unless the engraver can be assumed to have taken some liberties with the image of the original.⁶³ The

62 C. Grignion [?], *Signora Faustina* (1776), line engraving from a portrait by Rosalba Carriera.

63 The horrible reproduction of "an eighteenth century print" in Francis Rogers' article, previously cited, which shows "Francesca Cuzzoni Sandoni" and "Signora Faustina" in interlocking oval frames seems to be based on the

jewelry Bordonni wears in the engraving is more elaborate and extensive than in any of Carriera's paintings, with several ornaments in the hair, a strand of pearls around the neck, and large girandole earrings ("three pear-shaped drops"), a style fashionable at the time (Ribiero 1984: 112). The physical likeness to Bordonni, as she appears in the other portraits discussed previously, is a good one. The round face, with its slightly heavy chin, defined nose, dark curving brows, and heavy-lidded eyes are common among all of Carriera's portraits of the singer.

While the Grignion engraving bears some resemblance to the Nazari portrait of Bordonni (*fig. 11*), in the light curled hair with one lock on the shoulder and a string of pearls, there are also resemblances to *figures 8 and 12*, two of the Carriera pastels. Bordonni's features and expression in *figure 12* are the most similar to the engraving, particularly the lines of her nose and her closed but slightly upturned lips. However, the eyes are less alike and the tilt of the head gives the engraving a coquettish look not present in the Carriera painting. As in the engraving of Anastasia Robinson, the background of the engraving of "Signora Faustina" is filled in with cross-hatchings. In this case the lighter section is on the left, and angles out from the subject's face, rather than falling behind her. This reproduces (in reverse) the light and shadow in *figure 12*, in which Bordonni is also wearing pearl ornaments, apparently wearing some combination of dress and wrap similar to those in the engraving. The image is jewel-laden and somehow frivolous when compared with the austere simplicity of the engraved portrait of Anastasia Robinson.

6. Conclusions

The portraits of Anastasia Robinson surveyed cover a wide range but are all (save the caricature) well within the conventions of eighteenth-century British portraiture. Although preserved in several different media, there are only two basic images of the singer. While these are quite different from each other, both date from the same period in her life. The portraits of Faustina Bordonni represent an equal range of media and are fascinating because of the different guises in which she is presented in the portraits, which were executed over an extended period of time.

Through the portraits of these two women, the web of connections between European art, music, and society can be further explored. On one level, there is the network of contemporaries whose lives intersect. This includes not only other singers and composers such as Handel and Cuzzoni, but important artistic, literary and even political figures — Pope, Carriera, Peterborough, Zanetti. Then there are the lives of the singers themselves, of which the portraits provide a record and help to flesh out the sense of an individual, a personality. On another level lie the legends that grew up around Robinson and Bordonni themselves, and the ideas (and ideals) that they came to represent. Here the portrayals of the two women give direct evidence.

Just as their lives were presented to posterity as models of both the cardinal and social virtues — such as modesty, fidelity, chastity, good humor, financial success and security — the portraits of Anastasia Robinson and Faustina Bordonni were influenced by pre-existing models of musical women. In her 1724 portrait of Bordonni, Rosalba Carriera reflected the eighteenth-century

engravings in Hawkins' *History*, though somewhat altered, as Cuzzoni's features are softened while Bordonni's are made ridiculous. One is prevented from learning more about this print by the lack of references of any kind in Rogers' article.

image of Lady Music as playful and seductive inspiration that replaced the ideal derived from classical philosophy. She created not only a portrait of a particular singer but a representation of the seductive charms of the Venetian opera. Vanderbank, following the example of Kneller, took the eighteenth century English reverence for St. Cecilia as a starting point and (like the St. Cecilia festivals) turned an ideal of Christian faith and heavenly music into a celebration of British virtues and musical theater.

In both cases, the Zanetti caricatures reveal aspects of the singer's personality or career that are missing from the later paintings as well as from Hawkins's verbal portraits. The smirk and fussy cap of the Robinson caricature gives a sense of the humor and sly self-awareness that makes the reserved harpsichord player of the Vanderbank painting a three-dimensional character. The drawing of a suspiciously meek-looking Faustina Bordoni in her first operatic role is a valuable glimpse of her beginnings, before the seductive poses, courtly magnificence, and final mature dignity of the Carriera and Nazari portraits.

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Catalogus

Darstellungen von Musik in und an sächsischen Kirchen von 1230 bis 1600

Birgit Heise

Vorliegender Katalog verzeichnet sämtliche in sächsischen Kirchen vorkommenden, bis 1600 entstandenen Bildwerke mit einem auf Musik bezogenen Motiv. "Sachsen" versteht sich dabei als mitteldeutsches Land innerhalb seiner heutigen Grenzen. Es entspricht ungefähr dem aus der Leipziger Teilung von 1485 hervorgegangenen "Albertinischen Sachsen", welches lange Zeit neben dem sogenannten "Ernestinischen Sachsen", dem heutigen Thüringen, existierte (zur Regionalgeschichte vergleiche Blaschke 1990: 17).

Eingehende Untersuchungen in den Kirchen selbst sowie das Studium der Sekundärliteratur förderten "musikalische" Motive zutage, die sich an Altären, Lettnern, Wand- und Deckenmalereien, Kanzeln, Gestühlen, Bildteppichen, Portalen sowie an den Außenfronten der Gebäude befinden. Der Katalog enthält weiterhin sakrale Kunstwerke, die früher in hiesige Kirchen gehörten, jedoch während des Krieges zerstört wurden oder inzwischen ins Museum gelangten. Hinzu kommen aufgrund ihrer herausragenden Bedeutung der Dresdner Totentanz (er befand sich nicht in einer Kirche, sondern am Dresdner Georgenschloß) sowie die Malereien zweier Kirchen aus angrenzendem Territorium (Nummern 6 und 28).

Viele Kunstwerke, vor allem diejenigen aus entlegenen Dorfkirchen, bedürfen noch einer detaillierten Erfassung und Aufarbeitung. Es war daher nicht immer möglich, genaue Maße, die Art des Holzes oder die Zusammensetzung der Farbe im Katalog anzugeben. Prinzipiell dominierte in Sachsen bezüglich der Wandmalerei die Secco-Technik. Beim Bemalen von Holz gebrauchte man nach 1500 neben reiner Ölfarbe auch Tempera, Öl und Tempera gemischt sowie reine Leimfarbe. Dabei wurden oftmals verschiedene Techniken an einem und demselben Kunstwerk angewendet. Maße, Holzarten und Farbzusammensetzungen wurden daher — wo nicht bekannt — weggelassen.

Die Anzahl an musikbezogenen Bildwerken innerhalb sächsischer Kirchen erweist sich als nicht besonders groß. Zur überwiegenden Zahl an Altären, Wandmalereien etc. gehören keine entsprechenden Motive. Insgesamt 78 musikikonographisch relevante Kunstwerke ließen sich ermitteln, wobei der zeitliche Rahmen vom ältesten überlieferten Beispiel (Freiberg, Nr. 18, von 1230) bis zum willkürlich festgesetzten Jahr 1600 sehr weit gefaßt wurde.

Dem 13. Jahrhundert entstammen zwei, dem 14. Jahrhundert nur ein Bildwerk mit Musikinstrument (Nummern 18, 53, 75). Die meisten Objekte entstanden in der Zeit von 1400 bis 1550; speziell auf Sachsen bezogen also während des Spätmittelalters (Flügelaltäre im Stile der Spätgotik fertigte man bis etwa 1520) und der Renaissance. Dies ist kein Zufall. Bedingt durch den Silberabbau gelangte Sachsen während jener Zeit zu Wohlstand. Zugleich erreichte die innerhalb der katholischen Kirche praktizierte Heiligenverehrung bis zur Reformation einen Höhepunkt. Das Stiften von Heiligenbildnissen oder Nebenaltären wurde zur Tradition, so daß sich namhafte Bildschnitzer wie Peter Breuer und Hans Witten mit eigenen Werkstätten zu etablieren vermochten. Hier wurden sakrale Gegenstände wie Flügel- und Wandelaltäre geschaffen.

die die hiesigen Kirchen füllten. Die in Sachsen erst 1539 offiziell eingeführte Reformation entzog dieser Tradition den Boden. Es entstanden nunmehr hauptsächlich Epitaphien im Stil der Renaissance sowie reformatorisch geprägte Bildprogramme an Kirchenwänden und -decken (Nummern 22, 57).

Musikinstrumente vermag der Betrachter im Zusammenhang mit verschiedenen Bilderthemen zu entdecken. Die Harfe als Attribut von König David sowie die Tubaengel des Jüngsten Gerichts, auf Businen und Herhörnern blasend, treten sehr häufig sowohl vor als auch nach der Reformation in Erscheinung. Typisch für das Spätmittelalter sind zudem musizierende Engel in der Umgebung von Maria, Anna und anderen Heiligen.

Sie verschwinden mit dem Einsetzen der Reformation völlig; das musikalische Gotteslob praktizieren nun Menschen ohne Engelsflügel (Nummern 59, 60). Erst gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts stellte man wieder musizierende Engel dar; nun jedoch in Form von kindgestaltigen Putten, wie sie später als Bestandteile barocker Kunstwerke große Bedeutung erlangten (Nummern 10, 20). Aus dem 15./16. Jahrhundert sind auch Bildwerke mit musizierenden Personen überkommen, die dem Alltagsleben entnommen zu sein scheinen: Hirten mit Blasinstrument an der Krippe Christi (Nummern 2, 13, 32, 36, 42, 46, 74), singende Franziskaner (Nummer 34), eine Alta-Blaskapelle beim unglücklichen Hiob (Nummer 11), Straßenmusikanten (Nummer 14), spottende Söldner (Nummern 4, 73) oder ein spielendes Kind (Nummer 48). Schließlich existieren auch dämonische Gestalten mit Musikinstrument (Nummern 16, 62, 67).

Zur Abbildung gelangten tanzende und singende Personen, in der Hauptsache jedoch Figuren mit Instrumenten. Dargestellt wurden nahezu alle entscheidenden Instrumente jener Zeit, am häufigsten erschienen dabei Lauten, Herhörner, Businen, Harfen, Rohrblattinstrumente und Glocken.

Über die Hälfte aller Kunstwerke sind gut erhalten. Besonderen Wert besitzt das mit fünf- und zwanzig musizierenden Engeln auffallend reich bestückte "Orchester" aus Görlitz (Nummer 24). Hier befindet sich auch eine sehr frühe Cembalo-Abbildung von 1430. Allerdings wurde dieses Deckengemälde um 1910 einer umfangreichen Restaurierung unterzogen und läßt sich daher nicht ganz vorbehaltlos auswerten. Hervorzuheben wären außerdem die zahlreichen Musikinstrumente innerhalb der Freiburger Fürstengruft (Nummern 19, 20). Einige Putten unterhalb der Decke stattete man seinerzeit sogar mit originalen Instrumenten aus.

Qualitativ erweisen sich die Darstellungen von Musikinstrumenten als sehr unterschiedlich. Ein Teil von ihnen wurde ungenau, nur in Umrissen oder mit Fehlern wiedergegeben; es gibt anatomisch abnorme Handhaltungen und krumm verlaufende Saiten. Andererseits gibt es viele Zeichnungen oder Plastiken, die photographischen Momentaufnahmen gleichen.

Insgesamt erlauben unsere Abbildungen interessante Rückschlüsse auf die Musikanschauung jener Epochen und Einblicke in die damalige Musikpraxis mit ihrem vielfältigen und bunten Instrumentarium. In der Darstellung sind wir im großen Ganzen dem bisher in *Imago Musicae* praktizierten Format gefolgt (vgl. den *Catalogus* H. M. Browns in den Bänden 1–3 und 5).

Catalogus

**1. Altgeringswalde, Kreis Rochlitz, Dorfkirche
Altar-Diptychon**

Zeit: um 1515

Künstler: Meister der Flügelgemälde des Altars von Topfseifersdorf

Bild: auf Rückseiten der Flügel "Jüngstes Gericht": Christus als Weltenrichter über den Gruppen der Seligen und Verdammten zwischen Maria und Johannes dem Täufer, darüber zwei musizierende Engel auf Wolken.

Instrumente: zwei Herhörner, von den Engeln geblasen

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Steche 1890: 3; Dehio 1965: 9; Magirus und Mai 1985: 185; Sandner 1993: 174, 175 (Abbildung), 337

2. Annaberg-Buchholz, Annenkirche

Bergaltar, Schrein, geschnitzt, polychrom und teilweise vergoldet, 153 : 182 cm

Zeit: 1521

Bild: a) "Geburt Christi": in Bildmitte Anbetung des Kindes durch Maria, Joseph und fünf Putten, links zwei Hirten, davon einer mit Sackpfeife; b) am angedeuteten Himmel 14 Engel, zum Teil mit Instrumenten und Noten.

Instrumente: a) Sackpfeife des Hirten (ohne Bordune) wird nicht geblasen; b) zwei Dreiergrüppchen von Engeln, singend, mit je einem Blatt ohne erkennbare Noten; ebenda seitlich je zwei Engel mit Blasinstrument; von links nach rechts: konisches Instrument ohne Grifflöcher (Busine?), gerader Zink, gerader Zink, Pommer; alle Engel musizierend.

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Steche 1885: 37; Treptow 1929: 6; Dehio 1965: 14; Sandner 1983: 54; Marx 1989: 71; Magirus 1991: 26; Sandner 1993: 302

3. derselbe Altar, linker Flügel innen, oberes Feld, geschnitzt, polychrom und teilweise vergoldet, 70 : 196 cm

Bild: "Ankündigung der Geburt Mariens", an den Seiten von kleinen Heiligenfigürchen eingerahmt, rechts: David mit Harfe

Instrument: gotische Rahmenharfe, gezupft

Foto: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek/Möbius

Bibl.: wie Nummer 2

4. derselbe Altar, 2. Wandlung, rechter Flügel oben, Öl auf Kiefernholz, 70 : 196 cm

Künstler: vermutlich Meister des Pflockschen Altars

Bild: "Verspottung Christi vor dem Hohen Rat": der in der Bildmitte befindliche Christus mit Augenbinde wird von mehreren Knechten mißhandelt, einer der Männer bläst mit einem Krummhorn in sein Ohr.

Instrument: schwarzes Krummhorn mit weiter Mensur; Spieler bläst hinein, ohne Grifflöcher zu betätigen.

Foto: —

Bibl.: wie Nr. 2

5. Annaberg-Buchholz, Annenkirche

Hauptaltar, Predella, Marmor mit figuriertem Schmuck aus Kalkstein, Figuren 36–50 cm hoch

Zeit: 1522

Künstler: Hans und Adolph Daucher

Bild: "Wurzel Jesse": in der Predella Jesse, liegend, aus dem ein Stammbaum erwächst, dessen Endpunkt die Heilige Familie bildet; im schmalen Feld oberhalb der Predella unter anderem David mit Harfe

Instrument: gotische Rahmenharfe; mit einer Hand gespielt

Foto: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek

Bibl.: Steche 1885: 32; Wiegand 1903: 55; Dehio 1965: 14; Löffler 1974: 138 (Abbildung), 201; Magirus 1991: 26

6. Briesen, Kreis Cottbus, Dorfkirche

Wandmalerei, etwa lebensgroß

Zeit: 1486

Bild: an der Westwand Darstellung des Bereichs der Sünde (Ranken, Fabelwesen); eine der Rankenpflanzen teilt sich auf halber Höhe und endet in zwei musizierenden Halbfiguren, a) Mann und b) nackte Frau.

Instrument: a) Dudelsack mit einer Bordunpfeife, der Mann singt und bedient zugleich die Melodiepfeife; b) Knickhalslaute.

Foto a/b: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Raupp 1963: 60; Findeisen 1969: 328; Findeisen 1971; Nickel 1979: 194



1.



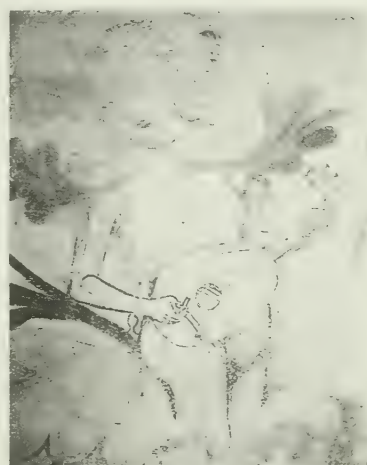
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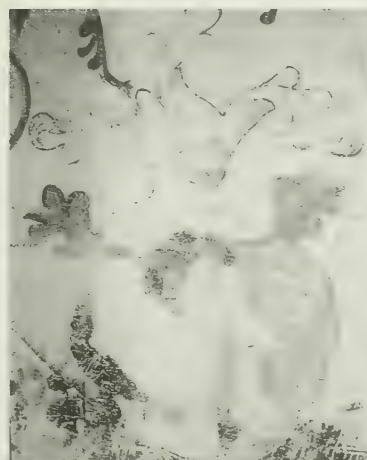
2.



3.



6a.



6b.

7. Cavertitz, Kreis Oschatz, Dorfkirche

Orgeltüren, Leimfarbe auf Leinwand. Zerstört.
Zeit: um 1590

Bild: die 24 Alten der Apokalypse (Offenbarung 5:8) um den Thron Gottes

Instrument: 24 gotische Rahmenharfen, die nur in den Händen gehalten werden.

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Hentschel 1973: 120

8. Chemnitz, ehemalige Benediktinerklosterkirche

Portal an der inneren Südwand, Porphyrtuff, 11 m hoch

Zeit: 1504–25

Künstler: Hans Witten und Franz Maidburg

Bild: am oberen Teil des Portales Darstellung des Gnadenstuhles, von musizierenden Engeln umgeben

Instrument: links und rechts neben dem Gnadenstuhl: Laute und Gitarre (ergänzt); darüber: zwei s-Trompeten, eine Trommel; oberer Abschluß: drei Krummhörner.

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Steche 1886: 20; Hentschel 1938: 36; Dehio 1965: 183; Röber 1975: 28; Stühr 1985: 41

9. Chemnitz-Ebersdorf, Stiftskirche

Pulthalterfigur, Lindenholz, farbig gefaßt, 175 cm hoch (ohne Flügel)

Zeit: um 1513

Künstler: Meister HW

Bild: Pulthalterfigur in Gestalt eines Engels, den Mund zum Singen geöffnet

Foto: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek/ Steuerlein

Bibl.: Steche 1885: 58; Hentschel 1938: 106; Dehio 1965: 189; Magirus 1971: 24; Stühr 1985: 53 und Abbildung 13

10. Döben, Kreis Grimma, Dorfkirche

freistehende Figur auf Altar, Holz, ca. 80 cm hoch

Zeit: 1591

Künstler: wohl Franz Ditterich der Ältere

Bild: Putto mit Blasinstrument

Instrument: sehr kurzes Aerophon ohne Griff-löcher mit weiter Stürze

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1898: 54; Dehio 1965: 57

11. Döbeln, Stadtkirche

Altarflügel, 2. Wandlung links, oberes Bild, Tempera auf Holz, 98 : 130 cm

Zeit: 1520

Künstler: Meister des Döbelner Hochaltars

Bild: Hiob, mit Schwielen bedeckt auf dem Mist sitzend; eine Frau begießt ihn mit Wasser, drei reich gekleidete Musikanten treten von rechts auf ihn zu.

Instrument: von links nach rechts: Zugtrompete, Schalmei, Pommer (Alta-Kapelle); alle drei Männer musizierend, Hiob scheint desinteressiert.

Foto: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek/ Möbius

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1903b (Heft 25): 21; Dehio 1965: 56; Sandner 1993: 143

12. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

Altargemälde "David und Bathseba", Öl auf Lindenholz, 121 : 74 cm

Zeit: 1537

Künstler: Werkstatt Lucas Cranach d. Ä.

Bild: Bathseba mit Frauen am Bade; im Hintergrund Gebäude mit Balkon, darauf David Harfe spielend

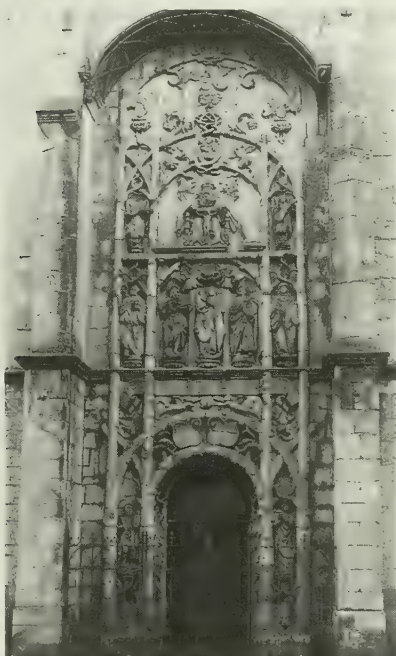
Instrument: gotische Rahmenharfe

Foto: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Bibl.: Friedländer 1932: 82, Nummer 288d; Deutsches Lucas-Cranach-Komitee 1953: 43; Hintzenstern 1972: 74



7.



8.



9.



12.



10.



11.

13. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

Bildteppich "Geburt Christi", Seidenwirkerei mit Goldfaden, 336 : 347 cm

Zeit: Anfang 16. Jh.

Künstler: niederländischer Meister, nach einer Vorlage von Albrecht Dürer

Bild: Anbetung der Hirten; in der Bildmitte Maria, Joseph und das Kind, von Hirten umgeben; durch Tür und Fenster der Scheune sehen von links drei musizierende Hirten zu.

Instrument: von links nach rechts: Sackpfeife mit zwei Bordunen, Platerspiel, Zink; alle Männer musizierend

Foto: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Bibl.: Kumsch 1913; Emmrich 1963; Schade 1983: 120

14. Dresden, Museum für Geschichte der Stadt

Tafelbild "Neuntes Gebot", Öl auf Holz, ohne Rahmen 87 : 137 cm

Zeit: 1528/29

Künstler: Hans der Maler

Bild: Neuntes Gebot mit Aufschrift "NUL-LIUS NUPTAM, Du solt keins Andern weib begern"; einer aus dem Fenster schauenden Frau wird von drei Männern ein Ständchen dargeboten.

Instrument: von links nach rechts: Knickhalslaute, Blockflöte, gerader Zink; alle Männer musizierend.

Foto: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1903a (Heft 21–23): 20; Richter 1918: 105/106; Hentschel 1926: 46; Lemper 1955: 57; Sandner 1993: 315

15. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

zwei Altarflügel vom "Dresdner Altar", Leinwand auf Holz mit Wasserfarben, Flügel je 45 : 114 cm

Zeit: 1496

Künstler: Albrecht Dürer

Bild: beide Flügel zeigen auf den Innenseiten Heiligenfiguren (links Antonius der Eremit, rechts Sebastian); über deren Köpfen mehrere Engel mit Gegenständen, unter anderem mit Musikinstrumenten.

Instrument: schlanke Handglocke, vor Antonius liegend; über Antonius bläst Engel auf S-förmiger Trompete; über Sebastian spielen zwei Engel mit einer Rahmentrommel.

Foto: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Bibl.: Justi 1904; Tietze 1928: A 189/90; Justi 1955: 35–51; Groß-Anders 1960: 67; Lampe 1961: 109; Anzelewsky 1971: 39; Strieder 1981: 149, 288, 352; Bachmann 1985: Abbildung 116

16. Dresden, Institut für Denkmalpflege (ursprünglicher Standort Georgenschloß)

zwei Reliefs vom "Totentanz", Sandstein, ca. 120 cm hoch

Zeit: 1534–37

Künstler: Christoph Walter I

Bild: zwei Ausschnitte aus einem Totentanz-Zyklus:

a) Skelett spielt Schalmei(?) und zieht Papst und Kardinal hinter sich her.

b) Skelett spielt Trommel, Kaiser und König nachsichziehend.

Instrument: a) vom Blasinstrument nur Schalltrichter erhalten; b) Landsknechtstrommel mit beinernen Schlegeln.

Foto a/b: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen/Rabich

Bibl.: Böhme 1886: 46; Wanckel und Flechsig 1900: 49; Gurlitt 1903a (Heft 21–23): 348; Dehio 1965: 80; Hentschel 1966: 29; Hammerstein 1980: 64, 152, Abbildung 19–22



13.



16a.

PHILIVS INPTAM
Dii Soli kaus Andreu wmb Baren



14.



16b.



15.

17. Ehrenfriedersdorf, Kreis Zschopau, Dorfkirche

Altarflügel, erste Wandlung, Öl auf Holz, 275 cm hoch

Zeit: 1515

Künstler: Meister des Ehrenfriedersdorfer Altars

Bild: erste Wandlung mit Passion Christi; zweites Bild von links Christus am Ölberg; unterhalb dieser Szene kleines Medaillon mit David vor einem Felsen knieend.

Instrument: David spielt gotische Rahmenharfe

Foto: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek

Bibl.: Steche 1885: 66; Bönhoff 1917: 23; Dehio 1965: 88; Hertzsch 1977; Sandner 1993: 190, Tafel 41, 44

18. Freiberg, Dom, Portal südliches Querschiff

Portalfigur der "Goldenen Pforte", Sandstein, Maße des Blockes, aus dem die Figur gehauen: Höhe 126 cm, Breite 36 cm, Tiefe 32 cm

Zeit: 1230

Bild: am Gewände rechts die Figuren von Johannes dem Evangelisten, David, Bathseba und Aaron; David mit Stab, Schriftrolle und Leier

Instrument: achtförmige Rundleier, gehalten

Foto: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek/Möbius

Bibl.: Rühlmann 1882: Tafel 6; Steche 1884: 23; Goldschmidt 1924: 9, 41, Tafel 19; Dehio 1965: 105; Seebass 1973: 29, 32, Tafel 31; Löffler 1974: 211; Magirus 1975: 10, 13; Magirus 1977: 16, Tafel 33 und 34; Hütter und Magirus 1983; Magirus 1989: 265; Blaschke 1990: 216; Magirus 1993b: 8

19. Freiberg, Dom, Fürstengruft

Moritzmonument, verschiedenfarbiger Marmor und Alabaster, 600 : 500 cm Grundriß, mit weißen Marmorfeldern von 75 cm Höhe

Zeit: 1563

Künstler: Brüder de Thola (Entwurf); Antonius von Zerren (Ausführung)

Bild: zweigeschossige Grabtumba für Kurfürsten Moritz (gestorben 1553) auf drei Stufen; unteres Geschoß mit hochrechteckigen, weißen Marmorfeldern zwischen roten Marmorsäulen; in den Feldern allegorisch-emblematische Darstellungen der Künste, Wissenschaften, Jagd-, Kriegs- und Gartenkunst.

Instrumente: mehrere dieser hochrechteckigen Marmorfelder mit trophäenartig zusammengestellten Musikinstrumenten:

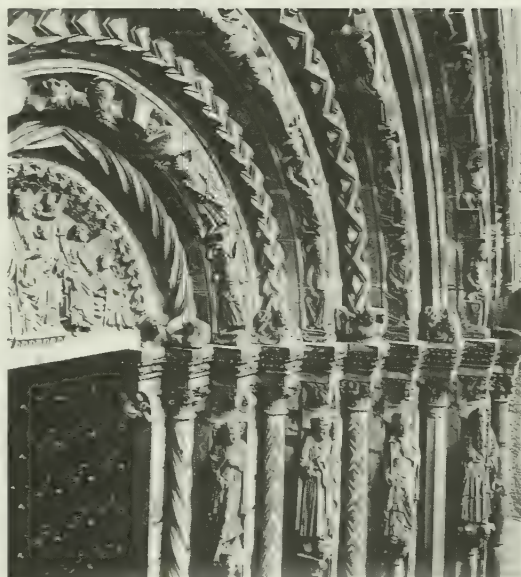
- a) Clavichord, 2 Lauten, 3 Violen da gamba verschiedener Größe, im Hintergrund mehrere Flöten angedeutet.
- b) Futterale für Blasinstrumente, darüber Dulzian, Grifflochhörner, Bomharde, Flöten
- c) 1 Paar Pauken
- d) 1 Paar Pauken, 1 Portativ (?) mit 2 x 9 Labialpfeifen ohne Tasten und Blasebalg; dazu Revolver auf Pfeilen und Spießen
- e) 1 Paar Pauken auf Lanzen, über Rüstung
- f) 1 Stricktrommel mit zwei Schlegeln, Querpfeife
- g) 1 Stricktrommel mit zwei Schlegeln, 2 Querpfeifen

Foto 19, 19a–c: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Dehio 1965: 104; Magirus 1977: 41, Abbildung 154; Waterhouse 1980: 269; Magirus 1993b: 35



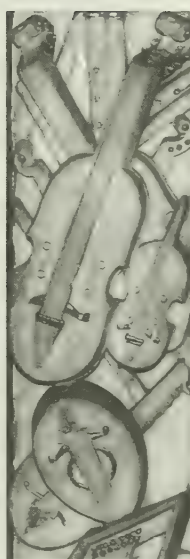
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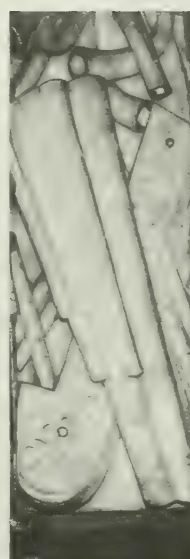
18.



19.



19a.



19b. (oben)



19c. (unten)

20. Freiberg, Dom, Fürstengruft

Figuren an der Decke und auf Gesims direkt unterhalb der Decke: Instrumente aus Holz in Originalgröße sowie aus Metall (Geradtrompeten, ca. 130 cm)

Zeit: 1594

Künstler: Figuren Giovanni Maria Nosseni; Instrumente zum Teil von Paul Klemm, Randeck

Bild: a) an der Decke Darstellung des Weltgerichtes: Christus zwischen zahlreichen Engeln (vier der Engel mit Geradtrompeten); b) zum Weltgericht zugehörig auch 34 Engel (davon 30 mit Musikinstrument) auf Konsole unterhalb der Decke

Instrumente: alle Instrumente gespielt, Originale oder Atrappen in Originalgröße: a) 4 Geradtrompeten; b) 3 krumme Zinken, 2 stille Zinken, 2 Posaunen, 3 Schalmeien, 4 Cistern, 4 Lauten, 3 Harfen, 1 Kleindiskantgeige, 1 Diskantgeige, 1 Tenorgeige, 1 kleine Baßgeige, 1 große Baßgeige, 2 Schellentrommeln, 2 Triangeln

Foto a/b: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek/Seifert

Bibl.: Steche 1884: 53; Müller 1957: 193; Löscher 1958; Dehio 1965: 105; Magirius 1977: 45; Heyde und Liersch 1979: 242; Heyde 1986: 91, 106, 124f., 133, 137, 189f., 196; Magirius 1993b: 40, 43 (Abbildung)

21. Geithain, Kalandkapelle

Wandmalerei al secco, etwa lebensgroße Figuren

Zeit: 1562

Bild: Brustbild des David mit Harfe und Zepter zwischen Judas und Salomon

Instrumente: gotische Rahmenharfe, nur in der Hand gehalten

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Steche 1891: 42; Dehio 1965: 122

22. Geithain, Stadtkirche

Malerei an Kassettendecke, vermutlich Leimfarbe auf Holz

Zeit: 1594/95

Künstler: vermutlich Andreas Schilling

Bild: Kassettendecke mit Malereien aus dem Themenkreis des Alten und Neuen Testaments; auf westlicher Seite u.a. "Jüngstes Gericht": Weltenrichter Christus auf Weltkugel zwischen Maria und Johannes dem Täufer, unter sich Auferstandene; direkt unter Weltkugel zwei Tubaengel.

Instrument: zwei kurze Businen, überkreuzt gehalten, geblasen

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Steche 1891: 36; Dehio 1965: 122; Sandner 1987: 108; Mai 1989: 177

23. Gnadstein, Burg, Kreis Geithain, Burgkapelle

Altarschrein, Tempera auf Holz, 140 : 92 cm

Zeit: um 1503

Bild: Anna selbdritt; über den Figuren links und rechts je ein Engel mit Notenblatt

Instrument: rechter, hinter Anna platzierter Engel mit losem Notenblatt mit Mensuralnotation und zum Singen geöffnetem Mund; linker Engel mit Notenbuch, jedoch nicht singend.

Foto: Hochschule für Bildende Künste Dresden/Steuerlein

Bibl.: Steche 1891: 53; Hentschel 1952: 201; Dehio 1965: 129; Sandner 1993: 216

24. Görlitz, Oberkirche

Deckenmalerei im südlichen Seitenschiff, secco, jede Figur ca. 70 cm hoch

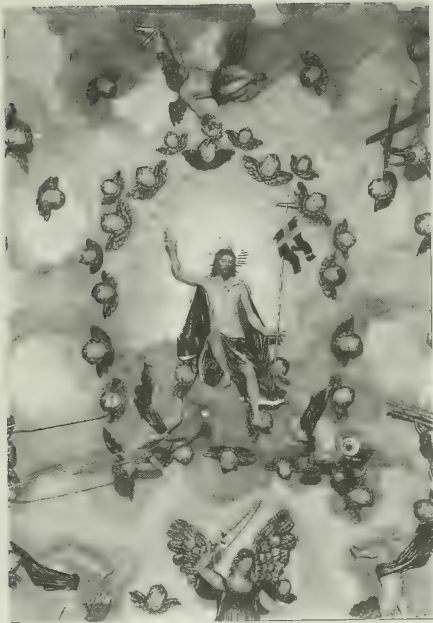
Zeit: 1430

Bild: rings um den Gewölbezwickel vier mal acht musizierende Engel mit Spruchbandtexten mit dem vollständigen Wortlaut des "Te Deum" sowie mit je einem Buch bzw. Musikinstrument.

Instrumente: in der Reihenfolge des Spruchbandtextes: Buch, Buch, Cembalo, Harfe, Busine, Pommer, Pommer, Laute, Rebec, Handglocken, Portativ(?), Glocke(?), Drehleier, Hackbrett(?), Handglocken, Laute mit Streichbogen, unkenntlich, unkenntlich, Fiedel, Rebec, Buch, Psalterium, Psalterium, Buch, Geradtrompete, S-Trompete, S-Trompete, Rahmentrommel mit Schlegel, Sackpfeife, Zink, Trumscheit, Querflöte

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

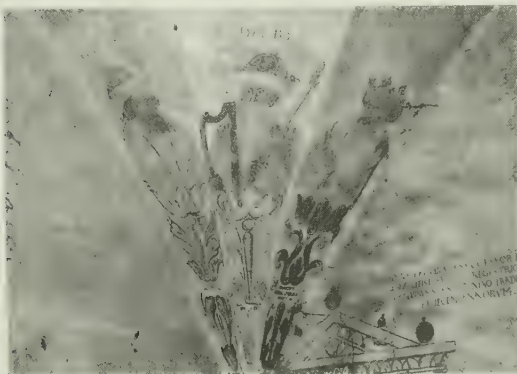
Bibl.: Lemper 1960: 67; Dehio 1965: 135; Kober 1968: 204; Findeisen 1969: 353; Heyde 1973: 166; Nickel 1979: 185



20a.



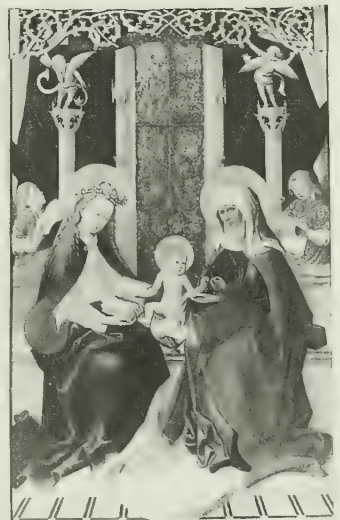
20b.



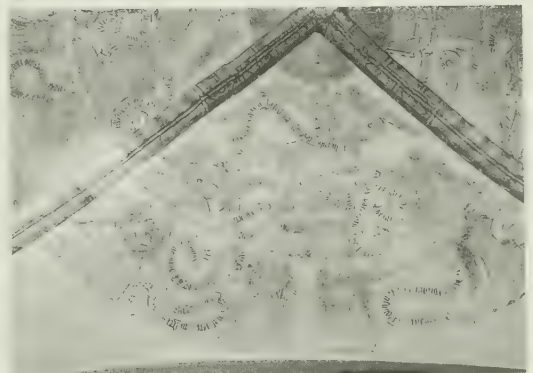
21.



22.



23.



24.

25. Görlitz, Oberkirche, Barbarakapelle

Steinfiguren an den südlichen Eckpfeilern, vorkragend, polychrom, je *ca.* 50 cm hoch

Zeit: Ende 15. Jahrhundert

Bild: zwei Wappen, flankiert von je zwei musizierenden Halbfiguren

Instrument: a) Mann mit Laute; b) Mann mit Fiedel; c) Frau mit Harfe; d) Frau mit Rahmentrommel

Foto a-d: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

26. Görlitz, Museum Kaisertrutz

Steinrelief, Sippenrelief des Valentin Hirschmann, Sandstein, 97,5 : 110 cm

Zeit: 1513

Bild: Darstellung einer Heiligen Sippe, umrahmt von vier musizierenden Engeln

Instrumente: links Engel mit Blasinstrument und Streichinstrument, rechts Engel mit Trommel und Laute

Foto: —

Bibl.: Lemper 1960: 109

27. Görlitz, Frauenkirche

Steinfiguren am Doppelportal des Westturmes, je *ca.* 60 cm hoch

Zeit: Ende 15. Jh.

Bild: an der Portalleibung zwei musizierende Engel ohne Kopf

Instrument: Triangel (Fragment), Portativ (Fragment)

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Lemper 1960: 109; Dehio 1965: 136

28. Herzberg, Stadtkirche

Deckenmalerei al secco, Figuren *ca.* 150 cm hoch

Zeit: um 1415

Bild: zweites Joch des Langhauses vom Osten aus mit Darstellung des Jüngsten Gerichts: Christus in der Mandorla, umgeben von Evangelistensymbolen; unterhalb der Zeichen von Lukas, Matthäus und Markus je ein Tubaengel.

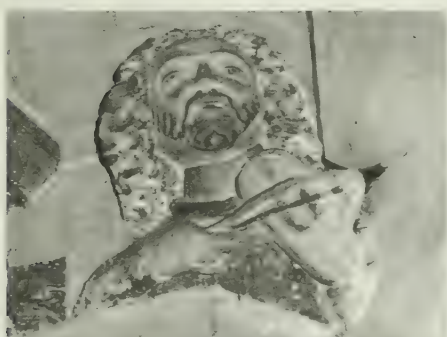
Instrument: drei lange, sehr schlanke Herhörner mit Standarte

Foto (Ausschnitt Lucas): Ulf Heise, Leipzig

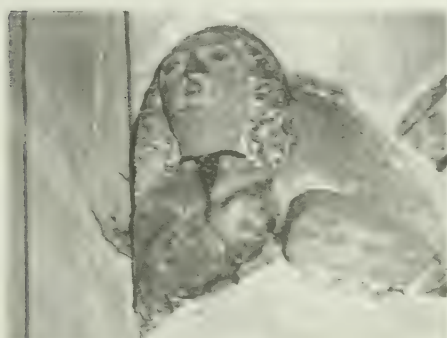
Bibl.: Kober 1968: 232; Findeisen 1969: 364; Schultze 1981



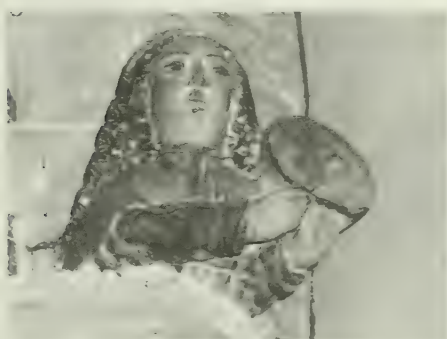
25a.



25b.



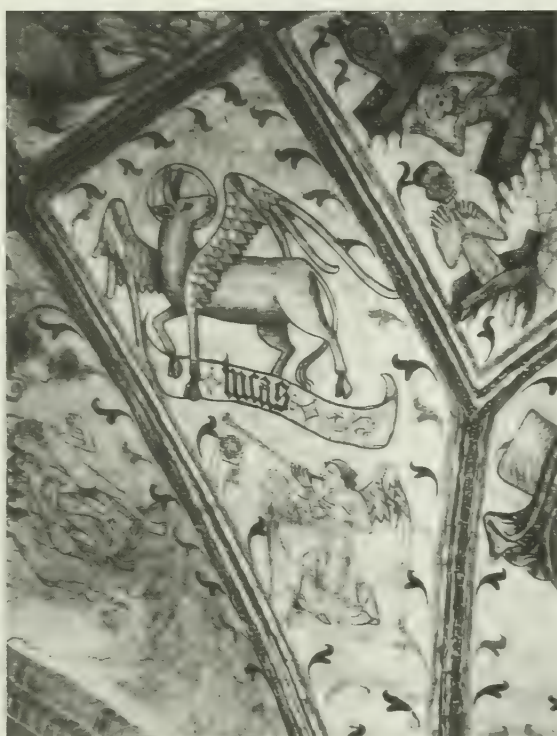
25c.



25d.



27.



28.

29. dieselbe Decke, westlicher Teil

Zeit: nach 1430

Bild: "Fürbitte Mariae" im 5. Mittelschiffsjoch: Maria und Jesus auf Thronen mit Spruchbändern, daneben fünf musizierende Engel

Instrument: a) Psalterium, Laute, Portativ; b) Triangel, Fiedel;

Foto a/b: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: wie Nummer 28

30. Kamenz, Stadtkirche

Kanzel-Schalldeckel, Holz mit Temperabemalung, Figuren auf Schalldeckel ca. 60 cm hoch

Zeit: 1566

Künstler: Andreas Dreßler

Bild: über dem Zahnschnittgesims des Schalldeckels die Figuren von Christus, Johannes dem Evangelisten, David und Paulus

Instrument: David spielt gotische Rahmenharfe

Foto: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek/Möbius

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1912: 46; Reif 1929: 96; Dehio 1965: 179; Mai 1989: 172

31. Kamenz, St.-Just-Kirche

Altar, Schnitzplastik, Schrein 162 : 230 cm, Hintergrund vergoldet, Figuren etwa lebensgroß

Zeit: 1500

Bild: in der Mitte des Schreins Krönung der Maria; darüber auf Balkon 6 Engel, davon 5 musizierend

Instrument: von links nach rechts: zwei singende Engel mit Notenbuch; ein Engel spielt Laute; zwei Engel mit Notenblatt hören zu.

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1912: 172; Dehio 1965: 180

32. derselbe Altar, rechter Flügel oben, Flügel 80 : 230 cm

Bild: "Geburt Christi": zwei Hirten schauen durch das Fenster in den Stall; einer von ihnen hält ein Horn in den Händen

Instrument: sehr kleines Horn

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: wie Nummer 31

33. Kamenz, ehemalige Franziskanerklosterkirche

Dreisitz, Holz mit Bemalung am Baldachin, ca. 200 : 75 cm

Zeit: 2. Hälfte 16. Jahrhundert

Bild: Weltgericht: Christus zwischen Maria und Johannes dem Täufer, darunter die Auferstandenen; zwei Putten spielen Blasinstrument links und rechts neben Christus

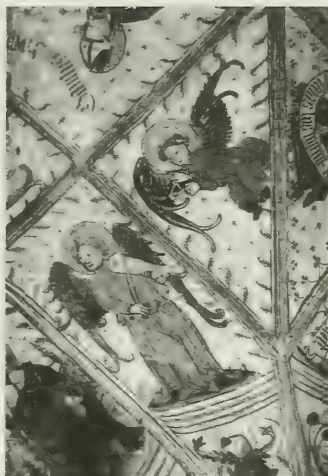
Instrument: zwei kurze Herhörner

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

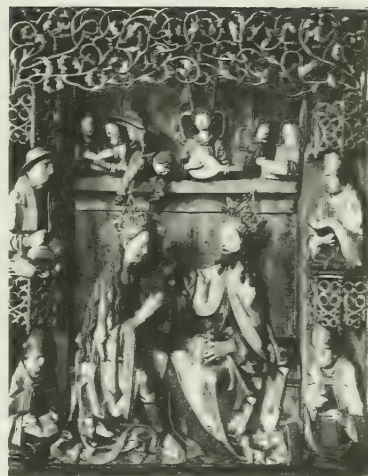
Bibl.: Dehio 1965: 179



29a.



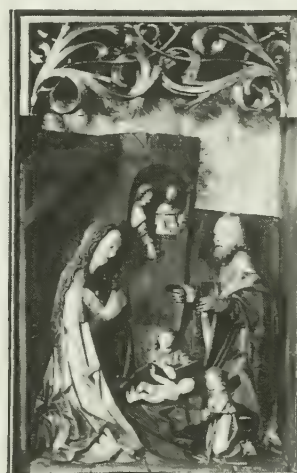
29b.



31.



30.



32.



33.

34. Kamenz, ehemalige Franziskanerklosterkirche

Franziskusaltar, Schnitzplastik, geschnitzte Bilder an Flügelinnenseiten je 61: 96 cm

Zeit: um 1520

Bild: rechter Flügel unten: Tod des Franziskus; um den Leichnam herum sechs Mönche gruppiert, drei von ihnen singend.

Instrument: drei singende Mönche, die in ein großes Chorbuch schauen.

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1912: 179; Reif 1929: 106; Dehio 1965: 179

35. Kamenz, ehemalige Franziskanerklosterkirche

Annenaltar, Schnitzplastik, polychrom und teilweise vergoldet, 230 cm hoch

Zeit: 1525

Bild: in Mitte des Schreins Anna selbdritt; beidseits daneben je eine musizierende Engel-Ganzfigur; in Höhe des Kopfes von Anna und Maria auf jeder Seite eine kleine musizierende Engel-Halbfigur mit Instrument

Instrument: von links nach rechts: Harfe, Schlagstäbe, kleine Laute, Portativ

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1912: 168; Dehio 1965: 179

36. Klitten, Kreis Niesky, Dorfkirche

Altarflügel, gemalt, Bild 57 : 158 cm

Zeit: 1587

Künstler: Schule Lucas Cranach der Jüngere

Bild: im oberen Teil des rechten Flügels Geburt Christi; drei Hirten schauen über eine Mauer in den Stall, der Hirte links im Bild mit Sackpfeife

Instrument: Sackpfeife mit zwei verschiedenen langen Bordunen

Foto: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek

Bibl.: Dehio 1965: 199

37. Klix, Kreis Bautzen, Dorfkirche

Altar, Alabaster, aus drei übereinanderliegenden Reliefs von je 65 : 215 cm Größe

Zeit: um 1580

Künstler: vermutlich Christoph Walther II

Bild: oberes Relief mit Weltgericht; Weltenrichter über Seligen und Verdammten; in Wolken zwei Tubaengel.

Instrument: zwei lange, sehr schlanke Herhörner, geblasen

Foto: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek/Kaubisch

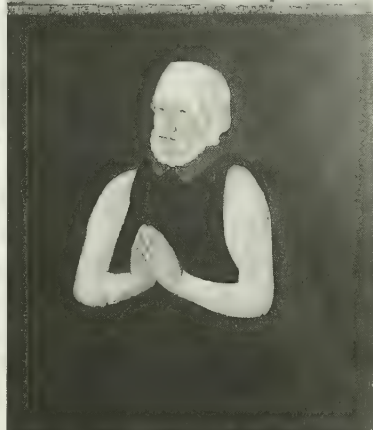
Bibl.: Gurlitt 1908: 118; Dehio 1965: 199; Hentschel 1966: 132; Magirus und Mai 1985: 130 (Abbildung), 199



34.



35.



36.



37.

38. Kriebstein, Kreis Hainichen, Burgkapelle

Wand- und Deckenmalereien, Kalksecco, Figuren zwischen 80 und 120 cm

Zeit: 1400–10

Bild: Südostjoch: Christus als Weltenrichter mit zwei Gerichtsengeln

Instrumente: zwei lange Herhörner, geblasen

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig (rechter Engel)

Bibl.: Kämmer 1958; Dehio 1965: 169; Kober 1968: 271; Findeisen 1969: 367; Nickel 1979: 183; Walz 1988: 10

39. dieselbe Deckenmalerei

Bild: Südwestjoch: apokalyptische Madonna mit drei musizierenden Engeln

Instrumente: a) Quinterne; b) Fiedel; c) zwei Stäbe

Foto a/b/c: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: wie Nummer 38

40. dieselbe Deckenmalerei

Bild: Nordostjoch: Marienkrönung mit zwei musizierenden Engeln

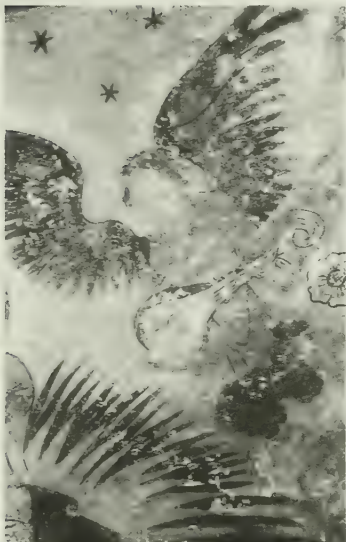
Instrumente: a) Quinterne; b) Psalterium

Foto a/b: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: wie Nummer 38



38.



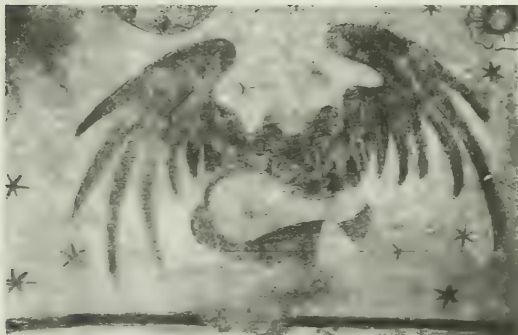
39a.



39b.



39c.



40a.



40b.

41. dieselbe Malerei

Bild: Fensterische Westwand: Antonius der Eremit

Instrument: Handglocke, in der Hand gehalten

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: wie Nummer 38

42. Lauenstein, Kreis Dippoldiswalde, Stadtkirche

Altar, Sandstein, 700 : 900 cm

Zeit: um 1600

Künstler: Michael Schwenke

Bild: Altar zugleich Epitaph R. von Büнау (gestorben 1592), bestehend aus mehreren Reliefbildern, unteres Relief mit Anbetung der Hirten: mehrere Hirten eilen an die links im Bild gezeigte Krippe, einer von ihnen mit Sackpfeife.

Instrument: Sackpfeife mit einer Melodie- und zwei Bordunpfeifen; Sack ist luftgefüllt, der Hirt bläst jedoch nicht hinein.

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Steche 1884: 49; Carus 1912: Dehio 1965: 219; Löffler 1974: 60

43. Lausa, Kreis Torgau, Dorfkirche

Altar, Tempera auf Holz, Maße unbekannt

Zeit: Ende 15. Jahrhundert

Bild: linker Flügel, unten: Christi Geburt mit drei Musikengeln in Bildmitte hinter der Krippe

Instrumente: drei singende Engel, in ein Chorbuch sehend

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Dehio 1965: 221

44. derselbe Altar

Bild: rechter Flügel oben: Krönung der Maria durch heilige Dreifaltigkeit; am linken und rechten Bildrand je ein musizierender Engel

Instrumente: Rahmenharfe (links), Laute (rechts)

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: wie Nummer 43

45. Leipzig, Thomaskirche

Altarflügel, geschnitzt, polychrom, Bilder je 102 : 112 cm

Zeit: um 1510–20

Künstler: Leipziger Werkstatt(?)

Bild: rechter Flügel unten: Krönung der Maria durch Christus; neben Christus kleiner musizierender Engel

Instrument: Laute

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1895: 95; Dehio 1965: 229; Sandner 1993: 351

46. derselbe Altar

Schrein, geschnitzt, Bild ca. 100 : 110 cm

Bild: im Schrein unten links "Geburt Christi": im Vordergrund Maria, Josef und Kind; im Hintergrund musizierender Hirte (links) sowie drei Musikengel (Mitte)

Instrumente: Hirte mit Sackpfeife (ein Bordun), drei singende Engel mit Chorbuch

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: wie Nummer 45



41.



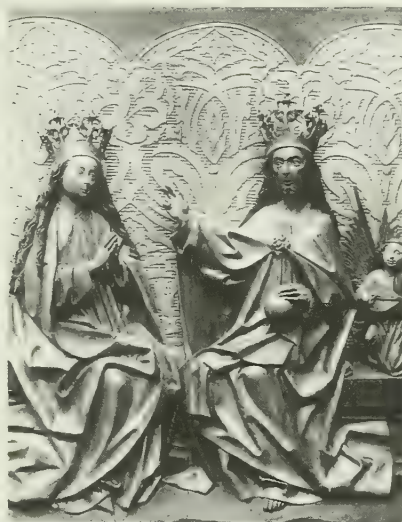
42.



43.



44.



45.



46.

47. Leipzig-Leutzsch, Dorfkirche

Altar, geschnitzt, Figuren im Schrein 80 cm hoch

Zeit: Anfang 16. Jahrhundert

Bild: im Schrein u. a. Frauenfigur und Antonius mit Kelch und Glocke

Instrument: Handglocke, gehalten

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1894: 74; Dehio 1965: 236

48. Leisnig, Kreis Döbeln, Gottesackerkirche

Altar, Malerei auf linker Flügelrückseite, Tempera auf Holz, 96 : 73 cm

Zeit: 1509

Bild: Familie der Maria Kleophas; eines der vier Kinder (rechts unten) mit Blasinstrument

Instrument: stiller Zink, gespielt

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1903b (Heft 25): 129; Dehio 1965: 236; Sandner 1993: 352

49. Lichtentanne, Kreis Zwickau, Friedhofskapelle

Altar, Schrein mit Schnitzfigur und Malerei auf Holz im Hintergrund; 130 : 100 cm

Zeit: um 1509

Künstler: Maler der Katharinenlegende

Bild: Figur der heiligen Barbara (geschnitzt) zwischen zwei musizierenden Engeln (gemalt)

Instrumente: Landsknechtstrommel (links), Herhorn (rechts)

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Hentschel 1952: 210; Dehio 1965: 243; Sandner 1993: 352 und 210

50. Lonnewitz, Kreis Oschatz, Dorfkirche

Altar, Schnitzfiguren auf Innenseite des rechten Flügels oben, 50 cm hoch

Zeit: um 1510

Künstler: Großenhainer Werkstatt, Pancratius Grueber

Bild: Laurentius und Antonius

Instrument: Handglocke in der Hand des Antonius

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1905: 168; Dehio 1965: 249; Sandner 1993: 319, 353

51. Meißen, Dom

Westtor des Langhauses, Steinplastik, 11 m hoch

Zeit: um 1370

Bild: Portalbekrönung mit Figuren von Gottvater, Maria, Jesus und 12 Apostel; darunter zwei Tubaengel

Instrument: zwei Herhörner, geblasen

Foto: —

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1919: 171; Lemper 1963: 38; Magirus 1993a: 26, 27 (Abbildung)

52. Meißen, Frauenkirche

Mittelfenster des Chores außen, Steinplastik, ca. 80 cm hoch

Zeit: 15. Jahrhundert

Bild: zwei vorkragende musizierende Halbfiguren

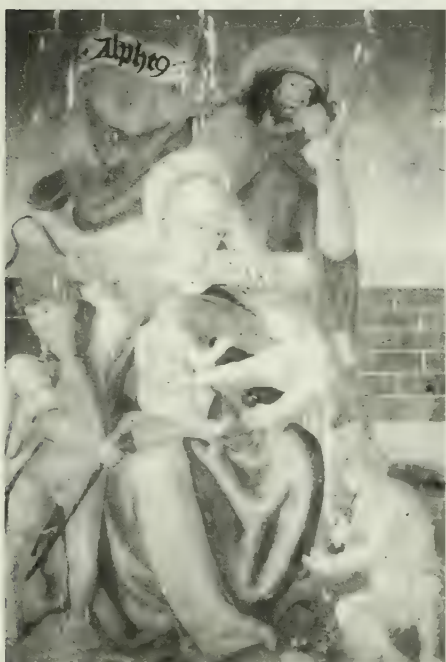
Instrument: Laute (links), Fiedel (rechts)

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1917: 8, 10 (Zeichnung)



47.



48.



49.



50.



52.

53. Meißen-Zscheila, Dorfkirche

Wandmalerei an Nordwand des östlichen Chores, secco, Figuren *ca.* 90 cm hoch

Zeit: Mitte 14. Jahrhundert

Bild: Jüngstes Gericht, unter anderem mit zwei Tubaengeln

Instrumente: zwei Businen, geblasen

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Dehio 1965: 275; Kober 1968: 412; Findeisen 1969: 400

54. Mittweida, Stadtkirche

Steinfigürchen über Fenstern des Chores, *ca.* 40 cm hoch

Zeit: 15. Jahrhundert

Bild: Kriechblumen, Engel-, Männer-, und Frauenfigürchen mit religiösen Emblemen (Christuskopf, Kelch) oder Musikinstrumenten

Instrumente: Objekte vielleicht als Zupf- und Streichinstrumente zu verstehen.

Foto: —

Bibl.: Steche 1890: 24

55. Oschatz, Friedhofskirche

Altar, erste Wandlung rechts, Tempera auf Holz

Zeit: um 1520

Bild: Antonius der Eremit

Instrument: Handglocke, geschüttelt

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Dehio 1965: 312; Sandner 1993: 357

56. Pegau, Kreis Borna, Stadtkirche

Wandmalerei an Nordwand des Chores, *ca.* 200 cm hoch

Zeit: Mitte 15. Jahrhundert

Bild: Himmelfahrt Christi: vom verschwindenden Jesus nur noch die Füße sichtbar, daneben links und rechts je ein musizierender Engel; im unteren Bildteil die 12 Apostel.

Instrumente: Portativ (links), Fiedel (rechts)

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl: Kober 1968: 325; Nickel 1979: 189

57. Pirna, Stadtkirche

Deckenmalerei, Südreihe, vierter Pfeiler von Osten aus, Länge des Feldes *ca.* 400 cm

Zeit: 1544–46

Künstler: Jobst Dörndorf

Bild: zahlreiche figürliche Darstellungen mit Szenen aus Altem und Neuem Testament, u.a. "Tanz um das goldene Kalb": 5 Personen tanzen um Säule mit Kalb, sich an den Händen haltend; im Hintergrund Moses mit zerbrochenen Gesetzestafeln.

Foto: Fritz Peuker, Eisenhüttenstadt

Bibl.: Steche 1882: 58; Bachmann und Hentschel 1929: 82; Lemper 1966: 16; Findeisen 1969: 412; Nickel 1979: 208; Schmidt 1988; Mai 1989: 176

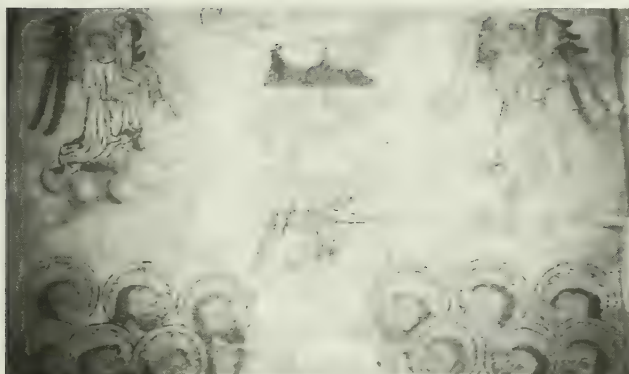
58. dieselbe Deckenmalerei, im Mittelschiff, Westseite, Länge des Feldes *ca.* 300 cm

Bild: Wappen des Johannes Bugenhagen: Harfe zwischen den Buchstaben IB

Instrument: gotische Rahmenharfe

Foto: Fritz Peuker, Eisenhüttenstadt

Bibl.: wie Nummer 57



56.



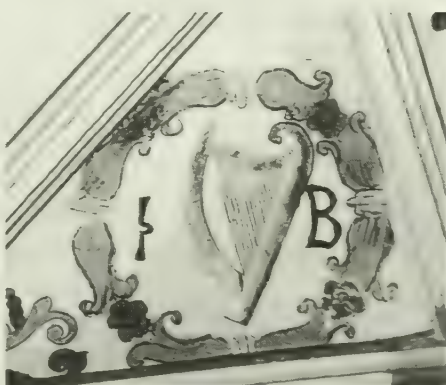
53.



55.



57.



58.

59. dieselbe Deckenmalerei, Mitte der Nordwand,
Länge des Feldes *ca.* 400 cm

Bild: männliche Person spielt Flöte

Instrument: Querflöte oder -pfeife

Foto: Fritz Peuker, Eisenhüttenstadt

Bibl.: wie Nummer 57

60. dieselbe Deckenmalerei, Mitte der Nordwand,
Länge des Feldes *ca.* 400 cm

Bild: männliche Person zupft Harfe

Instrument: Harfe ohne Vorderstange

Foto: Fritz Peuker, Eisenhüttenstadt

Bibl.: wie Nummer 57

61. dieselbe Deckenmalerei, Südreihe, dritter
Pfeiler von Osten aus, Länge des Feldes *ca.*
400 cm

Bild: "Jüngstes Gericht": Weltenrichter zwischen zwei musizierenden Engeln; darunter
Selige und Verdammte

Instrumente: zwei kurze Herhörner

Foto: Fritz Peuker, Eisenhüttenstadt

Bibl.: wie Nummer 57

62. dieselbe Deckenmalerei, Südreihe, vierter
Pfeiler von Osten aus, Länge des Feldes *ca.*
400 cm

Bild: Wilder Mann mit Dämon (Junge mit
Tierbeinen und Tierkappe) auf den Schultern

Instrument: Dämon bläst auf stark geschwun-
genem Naturhorn.

Foto: Fritz Peuker, Eisenhüttenstadt

Bibl.: wie Nummer 57

63. Pirna, ehemalige Dominikanerklosterkirche
Wandmalerei, *ca.* 200 cm hoch

Zeit: um 1400

Bild: am gemauerten Chorbogen geringe Reste
einer Darstellung des Jüngsten Gerichts:
Mandorla zwischen zwei Musikengeln

Instrumente: zwei Businen

Foto: —

Bibl.: Bachmann und Hentschel 1929: 167;
Dehio 1965: 326; Kober 1968: 328; Nickel
1979: 172

64. Pirna, ehemalige Dominikanerklosterkirche
Deckenmalerei, vermutlich secco, Figuren *ca.*
150 cm hoch

Bild: am Gewölbezwickel im Westen vier
Engel, davon drei musizierend

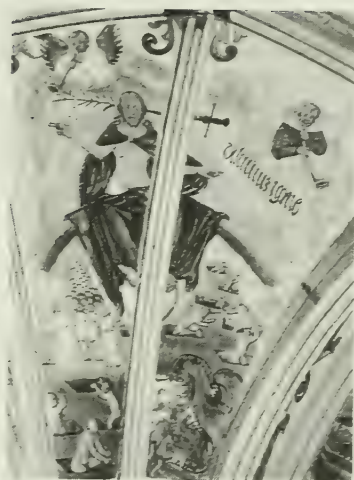
Instrumente: zwei sich gegenüber stehende
Engel mit Portativ, ein Engel mit Harfe

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

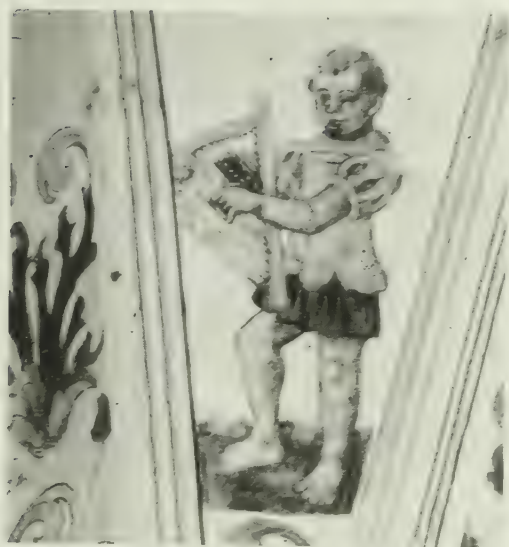
Bibl.: wie Nummer 63



59.



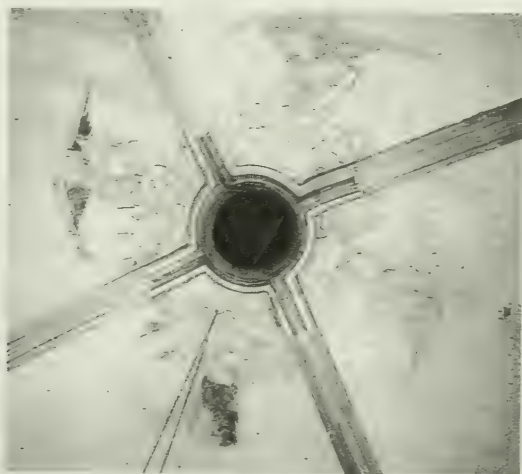
61.



60.



62.



64.

65. Rochlitz, Kunigundenkirche

Steinplastik an Außenfront Südfassade, Porphyr, ca. 40 cm hoch

Zeit: vor 1476

Bild: westlich des Südportales zwei übereinanderliegende Halbfiguren mit Instrument

Instrumente: zwei Lauten

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Steche 1891: 64; Pfau 1929

66. dieselbe Fassade

Bild: Südportal mit 10 musizierenden Engeln über kielbogenförmigem Türbogen

Instrumente: nicht alle erhalten; erkennbar vier Zupfinstrumente mit kreisförmigem Korpus (Lauten?), Portativ, Fiedel

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: wie Nummer 65

67. dieselbe Fassade

Steinplastik, Porphyr, ca. 80 cm hoch

Bild: an Außenfront des Chores acht groteske Figuren auf Konsolen (Jude, Hussit, Menschen in Ranken, verkrüppelte Wesen); auf westlicher Konsole kleinwüchsiger Mann mit Sackpfeife.

Instrument: Sackpfeife ohne Bordune, geblasen

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: wie Nummer 65

68. Rochlitz, Schloßkapelle

Wandmalerei am westlichen Teil der Südwand, ca. 200 cm hoch

Zeit: um 1500

Bild: Jüngstes Gericht (schlecht erhalten), Mandorla zwischen zwei Musikengeln

Instrumente: zwei Businen

Foto: —

Bibl.: Steche 1891: 77; Dehio 1965: 353; Kober 1968: 342; Nickel 1979: 192

69. Schildau, Kreis Torgau, Stadtkirche

Altarmalerei auf Rückseite des Schreines, Tempera auf Holz, 151 : 171 cm

Bild: Jüngstes Gericht (schlecht erhalten), Weltenrichter zwischen zwei Musikengeln

Instrumente: zwei Businen

Foto: —

Bibl.: Dehio 1965: 368

70. Struppen, Kreis Pirna, Dorfkirche

Altarrelief, Holz, 116 : 134 cm. Zerstört.

Künstler: Meister des Dohnaer Altars

Bild: "Einhornjagd": im Vordergrund Maria mit Einhorn, daneben Erzengel Gabriel mit vier Hunden, ins Horn stoßend

Instrument: kurzes, weit mensuriertes Jagdhorn

Foto: —

Bibl.: Steche 1882: 91; Hentschel 1973: 49, Abbildung 185; Sandner 1993: 104



65.



66.



67.

71. Tannenberg , Kreis Annaberg, Dorfkirche

Altarschrein, Holzfiguren, gefaßt und teilweise vergoldet,

Künstler: Christoph Walther I

Zeit: 1521

Bild: Mondsichelmadonna, umgeben von acht Engeln, davon zwei in der waagrechten Bildachse musizierend

Instrumente: zwei Lauten mit kurzem Hals

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Steche 1885: 89; Dehio 1965: 394; Magirus und Mai 1985: 170 (Abbildung), 212; Sandner 1993: Tafel 56, 363

72. Topfseifersdorf , Kreis Rochlitz, Dorfkirche

Altarflügel, Holz geschnitzt,

Zeit: 1510

Bild: rechter Flügel oben: Figuren der heiligen Antonius, Urbanus, Blasius

Instrument: Handglocke, von Antonius gehalten

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Steche 1890: 94; Dehio 1965: 400; Sandner 1993: 38, 364

73. Torgau, Stadtkirche

Passionsaltar, Rückseite des linken Flügels, Tempera mit Öllasur auf Nadelholz; Flügel mit Rahmen 81,5 : 229 cm

Zeit: 1509

Bild: "Verspottung Christi vor dem Hohen Rat"; Christus mit Augenbinde von spottenden Knechten umgeben; einer von ihnen mit Musikinstrument.

Instrument: schlanke Busine; Spieler bläst hinein, den Schalltrichter an das Ohr Christi gerichtet.

Foto: Ulf Heise, Leipzig

Bibl.: Dehio 1965: 401; Harksen und Magirus 1982: 24

74. Torgau, Schloßkirche

Altar aus der Dresdner Schloßkirche, Mittelfeld Alabasterrelief, 100 cm hoch. Zerstört.

Zeit: 1555

Bild: im unteren Teil des Reliefs "Geburt Christi" und "Kreuzigung"; links im Bild drei Hirten, an die Krippe eilend, einer von ihnen mit Sackpfeife.

Instrument: Sackpfeife mit zwei langen Bordunen, wird vom Hirten nur mitgeführt.

Foto: nach Hentschel 1973: Abbildung 229

Bibl.: Hentschel 1929: 119; Thulin 1947: 14; Dehio 1965: 405; Hentschel 1966: 118; Hentschel 1973: 76

75. Wechselburg, Kreis Rochlitz, Stiftskirche

Lettner, Porphy, Figur Sandstein, Höhe 140 cm, größte Breite 54 cm, größte Tiefe 23 cm

Zeit: 1235

Bild: im Mittelpunkt des Lettners "Deesis", auf linker Seite in Nischen Figuren des Alten Testaments, u.a. Daniel und David

Instrument: David hält 8-förmige Rundleier

Foto: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abteilung Deutsche Fotothek/Rabich

Bibl.: Steche 1890: 117; Dehio 1965: 413; Seebass 1973: 29, 32, Tafel 31; Hütter und Magirus 1983: 85; Blaschke 1990: 216

76. Zittau, Stadtbibliothek

Hungertuch, Öl auf Leinwand, insgesamt 820 : 680 cm, geteilt in 10 Reihen mit je 9 Bildern (65 : 65 cm)

Zeit: 15. Jahrhundert

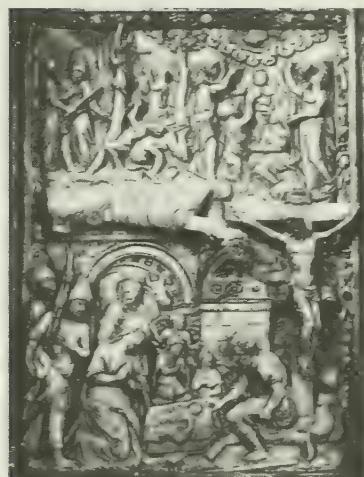
Bild: 5. Reihe 4. Bild: "Tanz um das Goldene Kalb"; sieben Personen tanzen um eine Säule mit goldenem Kalb; Bildunterschrift: "dy ivdē tantzen vmb das kalp s'tewfil yn de zas"

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1907: S.21



71.



74.



72.



75.



73.



76.

77. Zöschau, Kreis Oschatz, Dorfkirche

Altarflügel, Tempera auf Holz, 128 : 88 cm.
Zerstört.

Zeit: um 1510

Bild: 1. Wandlung rechts: Antonius mit langem Stab

Instrument: kleine, am Stab befindliche Glocke

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Gurlitt 1905: 341; Hentschel 1973: Abbildung 409; Sandner 1993: 101, 366

78. Zwickau, Marienkirche

Altarflügel, Öl auf Holz, Hintergrund vergoldet, 159 : 236 cm

Künstler: Werkstatt Michael Wolgemut

Zeit: 1479

Bild: 1. Wandlung linker Flügel Mitte: "Geburt Christi"; links über der Krippe mit Maria und Josef drei singende, in ein Notenbuch sehende Engel

Foto: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen

Bibl.: Steche 1889: 102; Beck 1896: 8; Quant; Dehio 1965: 447; Sandner 1993: 366, Tafel 13b



77.



78.

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Notitia

BRUGNOLO, KATIA, and TOMMASO CEVESE. *Harmonia: strumenti musicali nell'arte figurativa vicentina*. Introduction by Renato Meucci. Bassano del Grappa: Ghedina & Tassotti. [1993]. 139 pp, ill. (color and black and white). ISBN 88-7691-114-6. – ItL 23.000.

Since the early 1980s Italian scholars sporadically publish monographs on pictorial sources for musical iconography according to region. This one assembles in the form of a catalogue over 50 monuments (frescoes, intarsia, woodcarvings, stuccos, and sculptures) from the churches, palaces and parks of the Vicenza region, and dating from the eleventh to the nineteenth century. Each object receives a full-page reproduction and on the opposite page a (longer) art-historical and (shorter) organological description. The interdisciplinary collaboration between the authors is a most fortunate one and lifts this book above similar undertakings in which one or the other side is neglected. A glossary of organological terms, two bibliographies — the art-historical one large, the musicological one haphazard and full of spelling errors —, and indices of artists and places make the volume an attractive publication.

TS

VAN SCHAIK, MARTIN (Ed.). *Aspects of the Historical Harp: Proceedings of the International Historical Harp Symposium, Utrecht 1992*. Utrecht: STIMU (Foundation for Historical Performance Practice). 1994. x, 140 pp., musical examples, illustrations. ISBN 90-72786-05-X.

The editor has assembled ten contributions by participants of the Symposium and appended a "Historical Harp Bibliography (1980-93)" of six and a half pages. Three articles are of iconographic interest:

Martin van Schaik ("The harp bag in the Middle Ages: an iconographical survey", pp. 3-11) assembles twenty or so miniatures from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts showing King David with a harp in an opened bag. It seems that the miniaturists did not aim for realism when coloring the bag and its lining.

Silke Leopold ("Die Harfe in der frühen Oper", pp. 31-42) discusses the comparatively rare occurrence of the harp in instrumentations of early seventeenth-century opera. A passage in a letter by Monteverdi and the emblem of *Piacenza* in Ripa's *Iconologia* suggest that it is the sweetness of the sound of the harp which makes composers and theorists associate the harp with femininity and Venus. Indeed the few instances in which the harp is specifically required in the scores bear out the theory. One should, however, keep in mind that the association is not necessarily purely theoretical: it may well have arisen from a musical practice in preceeding centuries. During the late Middle Ages the harp was the favorite instrument of female amateur musicians.

Finally, the harp builder Simon Capp ("Historic harps: a maker's eye view", pp. 99-104) uses a few harp pictures and extant harps for the reconstruction of the *arpa doppia* in the early seventeenth century.

Except for the unsatisfactory color plates — they are not taken from original ectachromes — the volume is handsome and edited with care.

TS

HECKMANN, HARALD, MONIKA HOLL und HANS JOACHIM MARX (Hrsg.). *Musikalische Ikonographie*. Laaber: Laaber Verlag. 1994. [*Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 12]. 308 S., ill. ISBN 3-89007-224-0. DM 130.-

Zwischen Titel und Inhalt des Bandes besteht ein Widerspruch. Der lapidare Titel suggeriert ein Handbuch der Musikikonographie. Vom Inhalt her handelt es sich jedoch um eine alphabetisch nach Autoren geordnete Sammlung ausgewählter Vorträge, die am 11. internationalen RiDIM-Kongreß in Hamburg vom 21. bis 24. August 1991 gehalten wurden. Um die Kosten in Grenzen zu halten, druckte man die schriftlichen Fassungen in einer Kurzform von etwa zehn Seiten: sie dürften also umfangmäßig etwa den mündlichen Originalvorträgen entsprechen. Im Band finden sich nebeneinander Forschungsberichte, kunstkritische Essays ohne Anmerkungen und regelrechte, mit wissenschaftlichem Apparat versehene Aufsätze. Ebenfalls an den bei der Herausgabe von Kongreßberichten üblichen Stil erinnert, daß die Zitiersysteme nicht vereinheitlicht und Zitate nicht überprüft wurden, daß der Forschungsstand nicht gleichmäßig à-jour gebracht wurde und man sich nicht die Mühe eines Registers machte; im Falle des Vorwortes von Heckmann wurde die Bibliographie vergessen. Ich glaube, es wäre klüger gewesen, den Band als echten Kongreßbericht zu konzipieren und von allen 52 Teilnehmern einen kurzen Text

abzudrucken — (auch von jenen, die ihre ausführlicheren Fassungen woanders als Artikel publizierten) — allenfalls mit einem Essay über Trends in der Musikikonographie der 80er Jahre. Dann wären nicht nur die redaktionellen Mängel leichter zu entschuldigen gewesen, sondern die Leserschaft hätte auch einen vollständigen Eindruck von der Tagung erhalten. Als Ganzes ist der Band abwechslungsreich und anregend; auch enthält er einiges an unpubliziertem Bildmaterial. Im Einzelnen ist die Qualität der Beiträge unterschiedlich. Die Aufmachung und Druckqualität ist überdurchschnittlich gut; einige Abbildungen stammen aus Büchern und nicht, wie angegeben, von Originalen. Der Ladenpreis (doppelt so hoch wie ein Band unseres Jahrbuchs!) ist prohibitiv. Die 27 Beiträge werden in der *Bibliographia* des nächsten Bandes des *Jahrbuchs* einzeln aufgeführt werden.

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Recensiones

RICHARD LEPPERT, *The Sight of Sound: music, representation, and the history of the body*. Berkeley etc.: University of California Press, 1993. 316 pp., ill.

Music-making is inextricably associated with the body, in terms of the breath that produces song, the muscular strength and motion that produce sound on a stringed instrument. Unaccountably, however, the sheer *physicality* and ensuing visual representations of the informative corporeal aspects of music and music-making have not been given the attention that — in view of the fact that they are both necessary and ubiquitous — they deserve. Richard Leppert, in the introduction to his recent book, *The Sight of Sound* states succinctly the motivation for his work, as well as its scope:

The body produces music, often from the depths of its interiority, as with singing and the exhalation of breath into wind-driven instruments. Whatever else music is “about”, it is *inevitably* about the body: music’s aural and visual presence constitutes both a relation to and a representation of the body. Nonetheless, the connection between music and the body throughout Western history is highly problematic and contradictory, the product of deep socio-cultural anxieties and antagonisms. Throughout this book, I consider some of the social causes and consequences of this troubled link, focusing especially on the gendered body because the singular difference between feminine and masculine (neither the same as nor coterminous with female and male) is the constitutive element of every other conceivable relation as regards music’s connection to the body. (p. xx: “Introduction: Music, Representation, and the Scandal of the Body”)

Leppert in successive chapters sensitively articulates and thoroughly treats the following intriguing areas: Music as a Sight in the Production of Musical Meaning; Desire, Power, and the Sonoric Landscape (*Early Modernism and the Politics of Musical Privacy*); The Poetics of Anguish, Pleasure, and Prestige (*Hoarding Sound in a Culture of Silence*); Social Order and the Domestic Consumption of Music (*The Politics of Sound in the Policing of Gender Construction*); Music, Domesticity, and Cultural Imperialism; Sexual Identity, Death, and the Family Piano in the Nineteenth Century; The Piano, Misogyny, and “The Kreutzer Sonata”; Male Agony: Awakening Conscience; and Aspiring to the Condition of Silence (*The Iconicity of Music*). There is an excellent index, informative, carefully-written endnotes, and also a collection of provocative, carefully-selected drawings and paintings as resource material depicting music from approximately the last generation of the sixteenth century to the end of the first generation of the twentieth. Leppert’s writing style is fluid and reflective, and, though it is slanted toward Marxist ideology, for the most part avoids jargon. Appropriately, in view of its subject matter, *The Sight of Sound* is handsomely produced by the University of California Press.

Aristotle, when presenting a concept that is especially important to his argument, often uses a specifically musical analogy to make his point. An example of this is, in fact, the subject of Leppert’s work. The relationship of the unseen, or soul, to the body as discussed in *Concerning the Soul* (*De anima*) — becoming, in the Latin translation of this work, an important topic of discussion throughout the late thirteenth and entire fourteenth century — is focused on the analogy of “soul” to the external “body” of the music instrument.¹ Leppert extends this analogy

1 Aristotle, *On the Soul*: “Probably it is better not to say that the soul pities, or learns, or thinks, but to say rather that the soul is the *instrument* whereby man does these things, that is to say, the movement does not take place in the soul, but sometimes penetrates to it, and sometimes starts from it.” (English translation by W.S. Hett, *Loeb Classical Library*, Cambridge, Mass., reprint 1986, p. 47.) Aristotle, in the lengthy discussion that follows, treats the properties of actual music instruments in detail, as well as their sound-generating capabilities. The duality soul/music instrument is a *topos* that can be traced throughout the period Leppert discusses.

of unseen, sonorous substance with corporeal outer instrument to argue, in most cases very persuasively, that not only does the *body* of the instrument lead back to the “soul” — or the substance of sound — but that everything to do with this corporeal instrument is important: its surroundings, the person who handles the instrument, the decoration of the instrument, and even unconscious, unlikely, but nevertheless telling, mannerisms associated with the instrument. All these are significant as social, mental, emotional, and cultural markers.

It is important subject matter, namely, the relationship of the *unseen* (spiritual/soul) to the *seen* (corporeal), and, although I do not suggest that the historical aspect should have been thoroughly addressed — a comprehensive view of the voluminous discussion of exactly this topic from the Middle Ages through the early modern period would have produced a book that was far too unwieldy — it is interesting, nonetheless, to observe how identical medieval subject areas bring up some of the same questions, answers, observations, analogies, as well as similar vocabulary. Sometimes medieval discussions of contemporary questions even produce illuminating answers that are relevant to an understanding of the inner-outer, soul-body comparison today. A few examples will indicate how important and widely-known historical background would have provided clues for a contemporary audience’s understanding of the pictures discussed by Leppert. I include a few examples, primarily from the earlier chapters of the book, since Leppert’s early modern illustrations tend more reliably to involve an historical conceptual background.

Leppert makes the point (xxii): “With the printing press, knowledge can be separated from the person who knows (e.g., the author), and relocated in the (mass-produced) book.” But a *rationale* for the separation of author from product is already present by the early thirteenth century, indicated by a pronounced break with a long medieval *Genesis* commentary tradition, in which creation itself is uniquely proper to, and part of, God’s nature. Thirteenth-century commentaries on the same creation account depart from past tradition with an acknowledgement that man, made in the image of God, could, accordingly, do the works of God in much the same manner, i.e. create works. As God rested from his work on the seventh day, so man, too, “rests”, that is, separates himself from his work, in order to contemplate what he has made.² Guillaume de Machaut, already in the fourteenth century, far in advance of the printing press, in speaking of his compositions as “mes choses” gives indication that he considered his works, once completed, to be separated from himself as finished products.³

Leppert, in another passage (xxii), states: “Whereas in oral culture hearing (and touching) predominate over seeing in the transmission of knowledge, in typographic culture — the culture of reading, not listening — sight gains priority over other senses. My concern is with the period when sight is the prime means by which Western European culture accounted for reality.” But at least another point of view, equally applicable to both oral and literate cultures, might be considered, namely, that of Plato, who in the *Timaeus* maintains that sight *universally* is the predominant sense, since through sight one is reassured through the observation of recurrence, and through sight one learns most of what there is to know about the physical world. Learning, in other words, takes place predominately through the sense of sight. (As the multitude of

2 Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* III, XXIV (*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina* 34, cols. 295f., with Robert Grosseteste, *Hexameron*, edited by Richard C. Dales, Servus Gieben, OFM, Cap. (*Auctores Britannici medii aevi* 6), Oxford, 1982, pp. 264–8, and the discussion of this topic of the independent, separate work in Nancy van Deusen, *Music and Theology at the Early University: the case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*, Leiden, 1994, “Opus: a Conception of the Musical Work”, pp. 146–60. The “work” is the *product* of the creator, demonstrating the power of its maker, and is brought to perfection from its own inherent properties (p. 152).

3 Cf. Sarah J. Williams, “An Author’s Role in Fourteenth-Century Book Production: Guillaume de Machaut’s *Livre ou je met toutes mes choses*,” *Romania* 90 (1969), pp. 433–54.

quotations of this work show, the *Timaeus* was extremely influential throughout the Middle Ages — well into the eighteenth century. Chalcidius, the third-century translator of the *Timaeus* into Latin, extensively commented on this comparison of sight to sound and the relative importance of the two senses, and it is also an important, extensively discussed subject for the twelfth-century commentator on the *Timaeus*, William of Conches.⁴

A knowledge of the content and transmission, as well as the importance and influence of Plato's *Phaedo* would also have made a difference in the interpretation offered by Leppert of the "broken violin" (xxv). In this dialogue — perhaps the most dramatic and emotionally-charged of all of Plato's dialogues — the image of the *lira*, which, in this context, is unique to Plato's writing, is given a prominent place as externally representing the internal soul-composite harmony duality. This is, in fact, the actual point of the dialogue. Almost immediately following *Phaedo*'s mid-twelfth-century Latin translation, the *lira*=soul=composite harmony significance appears as a visual image and a verbal reference, and continues to hold recognizable meaning for centuries — certainly well into the period of the drawing under discussion: Marcellus Laroon the Younger, *A Fight* (ca. 1770), in which the broken stringed instrument, representing — within the continuity of this Platonic tradition — the "broken soul-harmony", is the most important object in the forefront of the picture.⁵ This privileged — and unlikely — position of the broken stringed instrument is the most noticeable component of the drawing, and gives evidence for an unbroken conceptual continuity with a past that included at least a superficial knowledge of Platonic references on the parts of both artist and public. Leppert writes (pp. xxv–xxvi): "The musical body is broken; there is nothing for its case to protect. No further possibility of musical sonority exists. The end result of the noise being produced in music silenced, men fallen: symbolic death." The question, it seems to me, is not whether one is interested in Aristotle or Plato today but, rather, whether an artist in the eighteenth century can reasonably be expected to have been informed by commonplaces no longer part of our received culture, how these commonplaces form a continuity with the past, and where they ultimately come from. Plato's influence is, I believe, mistakenly relegated by Leppert to "ancient ruminations" (p. 11).

Leppert writes that "historically musicians were hidden from view — in late medieval mystery plays..." (p. xx). I would be interested to see evidence for this statement. Although this would be a subject to be explored in more detail elsewhere, actual music does *not* occur in the manuscripts of late-medieval mystery plays (last generation, fifteenth century), but where *references* to music do occur in the texts of these plays, it would seem that the music was sung directly by the players themselves.

4 Cf. Plato, *Timaeus*. English translation by Benjamin Jowett (*Bollingen Series* 71). Princeton, 1961, pp. 1174f.; Chalcidius' translation and commentary on the *Timaeus*, edited by J.H. Waszink (*Plato Latinus* IV). London and Leiden, 1975), pp. 248ff. *De visu* (Concerning Vision): Guillaume de Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, texte critique avec introduction, notes et tables par Edouard Jeuneau (Paris, 1965), pp. 236ff. Guillaume de Conches writes of the "instruments of the senses" as body parts.

5 Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*: "In this, said he, one might use the same argument about harmony and a lyre with its strings. One might say that the harmony is invisible and incorporeal, and very beautiful, and divine in the well-attuned lyre, but the lyre itself and its strings are bodies, and corporeal and composite and earthy and akin to that which is mortal. Now if someone shatters the lyre or cuts and breaks the strings, what if he should maintain by the same argument you employed, that the harmony could not have perished and must still exist? For there would be no possibility that the lyre and its strings, which are of mortal nature, still exist after the strings are broken, and the harmony, which is related and akin to the divine and the immortal perish before that which is mortal." (*Plato's Phaedo*, translated with an introduction and commentary by R. Hackforth, Cambridge, 1955, pp. 68f.) A Latin translation of the *Phaedo* was certainly in the library of the Sorbonne by the end of the thirteenth century: Petrarch owned a copy (now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris), and read it, as his copious marginal notes indicate, giving evidence for avid interest in, and influence of, this Platonic work.

In another context, Leppert writes: “It is no accident that the early history of notation coincides with the codification (regularization for ideological and political purposes) of the liturgy in the medieval Church. It is no accident that musical manuscripts were often elaborate, visually stunning productions” (pp. 11–2). Actually, music manuscripts are almost never visually stunning productions; rather, throughout the entire period from *ca.* 875 to the end of the sixteenth century, the rule is that the more music notation present, the less extra-musical elaboration, even in terms, for example, of ornamental capitals. The most “musical” of music manuscripts, the *gradualia* or notated *sequentaria* are virtually and noticeably devoid of visual display. They are real musical “workhorses,” obviously intended to grant specifically musical information in terms of music *figurae*.

Pictures are mute; and this is the jolt one receives from portrayals of music-making and musical instruments. This silence in the presence of music depiction produces a void that must be filled by significance, collective meaning, and recognizability. Leppert’s interpretations are often ingenious, sensitive, provocative, and innovative. He has looked carefully at the pictures he has chosen; and has written well about them; Leppert is articulate, and his prose is a pleasure to read. The result is an interpretation of gestural language often more telling than the *loci topici*, the established traditions that the pictures also included. The works selected reveal their creators and cultures with a striking candor that Professor Leppert has succeeded in extracting from them, much to his credit. Only rarely did I have the sense, however, that a more historical approach — and some factual evidence to support statements regarding the past — was necessary, not in order to offer alternative interpretations (for the earlier pictures in particular), but rather to come closer to the intellectual, emotional background that generated them and granted them precise meaning to their own contemporary audiences.

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REINHOLD HAMMERSTEIN, *Von gerissenen Saiten und singenden Zikaden. Studien zur Emblematik der Musik*. Tübingen & Basel: Francke, 1994. 147 S, 72 Ill.
ISBN 3-7720-2139-5. – DM 48.–

Emblematic textual and pictorial references abound in the arts and literature of the periods of Humanism and Baroque. They occur in almost all literary genres, are a prominent element in feast culture, music and dance theatre, and are used in the painting of portraits, still lifes, engraved title pages, decorative arts, etc. Through these channels they enter music drama and music theory, too. But since their understanding requires considerable knowledge of several disciplines, very few musicologists have familiarized themselves with them. Much of what is written about music in the visual arts of the period under discussion shows a lack of concern for emblematics, hence presents the contents of pictures as a fairly unidimensional phenomenon. In Winternitz's analyses, and in the sociological interpretations of pictures by Lesure and Salmen, these shortcomings are obvious; even Albert Pommès de Mirimonde who had a certain understanding of this area, remains with his interpretations on the surface of meaning. The majority of the specialists of theoretical texts of that time seem to be equally oblivious of emblematics.

Very recently, younger scholars have begun to address the subject, as for example Nicoletta Guidobaldi and David Buch in recent articles in *this Yearbook*; they nevertheless make it apparent that we lack a guide into the maze-like emblematic network of pictorial and textual elements with their roots in antique and patristic sources and in the philosophical, archaeological and moral texts of the Renaissance, Reformation, and Counter-Reformation. The appearance of the book under review is therefore a welcome event. Hammerstein concentrates on two famous emblems found in Alciati's *Emblemata*, the emblem of harmony and damaged harmony (represented in a stringed instrument, i.e. a stringed instrument with a broken string) and that of restituted harmony (a string instrument on which a cicada substitutes for the broken string). He analyzes the emblems with great care and lays their root open, giving much attention to the transmission of Greek sources via the refugees from Constantinople. He discusses their modifications through the various editions, other emblem books by Ripa, Hesius, or Balde, music treatises and historiographic texts, and, finally, in paintings and literary sources.

One of the most common weaknesses in hermeneutical scholarship is the insistence of authors on one and only one interpretation. Hammerstein is commendable for the subtlety and authority with which possible interpretations are weighed against each other and for the way he leaves room for the opinion of others. Such a procedure has always been a hallmark of his scholarship. I have only found a few minor points to quibble with. They are not worth bringing up here, except perhaps for three issues: 1) The difference between disrupted harmony (represented by a broken string) and the elusive temporariness of musical sound, living and dying in time and represented by an intact or broken instrument, deserve more elaboration; 2) in most instances the edition of patristic texts in Migne's *Patrologia* should be replaced by modern editions (Jerome, Cassiodore, Isidore, and others), and 3) an index of subject-matter would be particularly welcome in a book like this one. The bibliography is fortunately not overloaded with unnecessary titles. Perhaps American scholarship could be brought in a bit more.

Hammerstein's book, both for its method and its content, belongs in the hands of every student of musical iconography and conceptual history of music.

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KARL SCHAWELKA, *Quasi una Musica. Untersuchungen zum Ideal des "Musikalischen" in der Malerei ab 1800*. München: Mäander, 1993. 384 S. ISBN 3-88219-425-1.

Die Musikalisierung der Künste und hiebei im besonderen der Malerei stellt eine Thematik dar, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten verstärkt an Interesse gewonnen hat. Zahlreiche Untersuchungen sowohl von kunsthistorischer als auch musikwissenschaftlicher Seite suchten Musikalisches im Bildlichen bzw. Bildliches im Klanglichen zu ergründen. Ein weiterer Beitrag von der Seite eines Kunsthistorikers liegt mit der Habilitationsschrift von Karl Schawelka vor (angenommen 1988 von der Fakultät für Architektur der Technischen Universität München).

Schawelkas Intention ist es, sich von der Flut musikalischer Termini, die als größtenteils irrationale Topoi in die Kunsttheorie und -Literatur eingegangen sind, abzusetzen und die Wirkung der Musik als erstrebenswertes Ideal auch der anderen Künste herauszustellen. In der Regel wird hiebei nicht an die Wirkung eines konkreten Musikstückes gedacht, sondern "an eine Wirkung, die allgemein nach Art und Intensität der gepriesenen Wirkung von Musik gleichkommt, jedoch mit den Mitteln der anderen Kunstgattung erzielt wird" (S.20).

Die Untersuchung beginnt mit einem einführenden systematischen Teil, in welchem grundlegende physikalische und sinnesphysiologische Zusammenhänge des optischen und akustischen Bereiches, die Möglichkeiten bzw. "Un-Möglichkeiten" der Vergleichbarkeit von Musik und Malerei sowie Synästhesien vorwiegend anhand der zahlreich hiezu vorhandenen Sekundärliteratur kritisch hinterfragt werden.

Daß die Betrachtungsweise ausschließlich von der Sicht des Kunsthistorikers aus erfolgt, ist angesichts der Fachrichtung des Autors sicherlich verständlich, doch hätte speziell dieser systematische Teil durch Einbeziehung grundlegender musikwissenschaftlich orientierter Untersuchungen an Tiefe gewonnen (De la Motte, Fink, von Maur u.a.m).

Nach dieser Einleitung werden die Rahmenbedingungen des "musikalischen Ideals" untersucht und ästhetische Erfahrungen, der Standpunkt des Rezipienten sowie das allmähliche Herausbilden des Ideals des "Musikalischen" dargelegt. Letzteres geschieht nicht in Form einer Begriffsgeschichte, sondern in Form einer Befragung der Geschichte von sachlich mit dem Ideal des "Musikalischen" verbundenen Konzepten. Diese werden auch dann miteinbezogen, wenn sie mit der Kunstgattung Musik nichts zu tun haben. Eine derartige Betrachtungsweise bringt den Autor zwar häufig an den Rand der vorgegebenen Thematik, bietet jedoch eine interessante Ergänzung zu anderen bisherigen Untersuchungsergebnissen hiezu. Mit einem Exkurs über das Museum als Ort musikalischer Rezeption sowie über Zusammenhänge von Raum-Erleben und musikalischer Wirkung schließt dieser Teil ab.

In der nun folgenden Untersuchung zum eigentlichen musikalischen Ideal folgt Schawelka der Reihenfolge Ziele-Inhalte-Methoden. Diese deduktive Verfahrensweise ist angesichts der immensen Materialfülle, die eine auch nur annähernd vollständige Darlegung des Stoffes sowie ein schrittweise induktives Vordringen zur Verallgemeinerung ausschließt, sicherlich gerechtfertigt. So wird zunächst nach den Wirkungen ästhetischer Kontemplation gefragt und die spezifisch musikalische Wirkung hier eingeordnet. Einem Exkurs über Esoterik und Okkultismus sowie über die nur oberflächlich abgehandelte Musikalisierung der Sinne schließen sich Untersuchungen über Spezifika musikalisch intendierter Landschaftsmalerei an, ein Abschnitt, in welchem die im Untertitel des Buches vorgenommene zeitliche Eingrenzung "ab 1800" problematisch erscheint. Das Kapitel "Gegen die "Anekdote" " untersucht diejenigen Themenbereiche, die für musikalisch intendierte Künstler keine Verwendung finden. Diese Betrachtung quasi "ex negativo", die aufzeigt, was konkret an der "anekdotischen", "literarischen" oder allgemein erzählenden Malerei dem "Musikalischen" im Wege steht, ist reizvoll und lehrreich. Die Gestaltung und Wahrnehmung der

Farbe als dem Hauptagenten "musikalischer" Malerei steht im Mittelpunkt des Abschnittes der Methoden, umrahmt von Fragen des Zusammenhangs von Stil bzw. Faktur eines Kunstwerkes und musikalischer Wirkung.

Die soweit vorgebrachten Ergebnisse werden nun anhand historischer Fallstudien am konkreten Material überprüft. Daß hiebei Paul Klee, der wohl am stärksten dem Ideal des "Musikalischen" verpflichtete Künstler und ergiebigste Zeuge für die vorgebrachten Thesen, nicht in diese Fallbeispiele mit aufgenommen wurde, wird mit dem Erscheinen einiger neuer Literatur hierüber begründet. Von Philipp Otto Runge, dessen Beitrag zur Musikalisierung der Malerei wohl vorwiegend in der Theorie liegt, reicht die Auswahl über Caspar David Friedrich, Eugène Delacroix, Arnold Böcklin und Paul Gauguin bis zu Wassily Kandinsky. Auf die Musikalität der Künstler — sei es nun im aktiven Tun oder in der Rezeption — wird bei der Untersuchung nicht eingegangen. Auch wenn es eine der Thesen dieser Arbeit ist, daß das Ideal des "Musikalischen" in der Malerei mit der real ausgeübten oder rezipierten Kunstgattung Musik nur am Rande zu tun hat, wäre eine zumindest exkursartige Einbeziehung der Einstellung dieser Künstler zur Musik eine interessante ergänzende Betrachtung, und zwar gerade auch dann, wenn ihre Musikanschauung in Diskrepanz zu ihrem bildnerischen Denken und Schaffen steht, wie etwa bei Eugène Delacroix. Seltsam mutet an, daß der für Kandinskys künstlerische Intentionen so aufschlußreiche, 1980 von Jelena Hahl-Koch herausgegebene Briefwechsel mit Arnold Schönberg in keinerlei Weise miteinbezogen wird.

Trotz dieser Einschränkungen kann man sagen, daß es Schawelka gelingt, der Vielzahl an Untersuchungen über Zusammenhänge von Musik und Malerei eine neue Betrachtungsweise anzufügen, in der sowohl in der Kunsttheorie als auch am bildnerischen Ergebnis die Gedankengänge der Künstler rekonstruiert werden, die das Ideal des "Musikalischen" in ihren Werken erstreben, um dieses Ideal somit nachvollziehbar werden zu lassen.

Abschließend sei noch eine Bemerkung zur Drucklegung angebracht: Die Lektüre des Buches wird speziell auf den ersten fünfzig Seiten durch eine nahezu unglaubliche Fülle von Druckfehlern empfindlich gestört. Die Fehlerhäufigkeit geht zwar mit dem Fortschreiten der Seitenzahlen zurück, doch hätte ein sorgfältigeres Lektorat den Wert des Buches erhöht.

Monika Fink, Innsbruck

KARL-HEINZ WEIDNER, *Bild und Musik. Vier Untersuchungen über semantische Beziehungen zwischen darstellender Kunst und Musik*. Peter Lang: Frankfurt a.M., 1994. 145 S., 20 Schwarz-Weiß-Abbildungen. ISBN 3-631-47297-8. DM 52.–

Speziell in den letzten Jahrzehnten wurde in der Musikwissenschaft vermehrt die Thematik der wechselseitigen Beziehungen zwischen Musik und bildender Kunst aufgegriffen und hiebei insbesondere das Komponieren nach programmierten Objekten der Malerei neu bedacht. Dieser produktiven Synthese zweier Kunstgattungen nimmt sich das 1994 beim Frankfurter Peter Lang Verlag erschienene Buch von Karl-Heinz Weidner an, in welchem die "Entstehung von Musik" (!), die durch Werke der bildenden Kunst angeregt wurden, zu zeigen versucht wird. Die ausgewählten Kompositionen sind: "Vier Tondichtungen nach A. Böcklin" von Max Reger, "Five Klee-Pictures" von Peter Maxwell Davies, das Lied "Ritter Schaumburg" von Hermann Reutter und "Los Caprichos" von Hans Werner Henze.

Da das Buch ohne Einleitung sogleich mit einer "semantisch-vergleichenden Betrachtung von Bild und Musik" bei Böcklin und Reger beginnt, bleiben dem Leser die Auswahlkriterien Weidners verschlossen. Falls der Autor Beispiele von Künstlern wählen wollte, deren Bilder am häufigsten in Musik gesetzt wurden — zu welchen Böcklin, Klee und Goya zählen — so fehlen hiebei Vertonungen von Spitzweg, Picasso und Dürer, und die Riemenschneider-Komposition von Reutter würde nicht dazugehören. So wird man in dem Buch mit vier einzelnen Aufsätzen konfrontiert, die völlig für sich stehen. Auf die grundsätzlich unterschiedlichen konzeptuellen Möglichkeiten, die Komponisten etwa bei Bildern von Böcklin, Klee oder Goya vorfinden, wird nicht eingegangen.

Auch die einzelnen Beispiele werden isoliert für sich betrachtet. So wird etwa bei Max Regers Böcklin-Suite mit keinem Wort auf die um die Jahrhundertwende typische Mode-Erscheinung der Böcklin-Vertonungen hingewiesen, in deren Tradition die Reger'sche Vertonung steht und ohne deren Kenntnis ein Verstehen dieser Musik nicht möglich ist. Die sogenannte Analyse beschränkt sich im wesentlichen auf Übernahmen einer spärlichen Auswahl von Sekundärliteratur, was auch auf die übrigen Abschnitte zutrifft. Bei den eigenen Anmerkungen Weidners ergeben sich bei Kenntnis der Partitur einige Probleme. So erwähnt der Autor beispielsweise nicht, daß bei Davies' "Zwischermaschine" das wesentliche Material aus einer Formel besteht, die in ununterbrochener Aufeinanderfolge abwechselnd von Violoncello und Posaune gebracht wird und daß die sich hiemit ergebende wellenförmige Auf- und Abbewegung sowie das Ostinato der Bässe den Aspekt des Maschinellen verdeutlichen. Es geht Davies durchaus nicht nur um Lautmalerei, wie der Autor meint ("... es drängt sich die semantische Deutung eines riesigen Vogelstimmenlärms im Urwald oder im Vogelhaus eines Zoos auf", S. 62).

Von den intendierten Untersuchungen oder Analysen kann bei den einzelnen Aufsätzen nicht die Rede sein; vielmehr handelt es sich um konzertführerartige Besprechungen (z.B. "es drohen die Posaunenstöße", S. 122, "... Horn, Trompeten [...] künden einen letzten Ansturm, bis in T. 22 der Gipfel erreicht ist. Der Sieg wird gefeiert durch eine zweistimmige Trompetencoda", S. 64).

Ebenso oberflächlich wie die musikalischen Bemerkungen sind die der bildenden Kunst gewidmeten Abschnitte, die sich vielfach in einer bloßen Deskription des ohnehin Sichtbaren erschöpfen. Beispielsweise vermerkt Weidner, daß bei Goyas Capricho 43 eine Eule zu sehen ist, weist jedoch nicht darauf hin, daß die Eule im Spanien des 18. Jahrhunderts als Symbol für Rückständigkeit, Finsternis und Ignoranz galt und daß Goya mit der Darstellung eines Schlafenden, der von Ungeheuern bedrängt wird, einen in Graphik und Literatur dieser Zeit häufigen Topos aufgriff und das Blatt gleichzeitig auch zum Spiegelbild seiner eigenen künstlerischen Existenz machte.

In der gesamten Arbeit ist die Formulierungsweise unwissenschaftlich (z.B. "... nach Ausbruch der französischen Revolution setzt in Spanien [...] eine wilde Reaktion gegen alle reformatorischen Bewegungen ein", S. 95) und zeugt von sprachlicher Hilflosigkeit (z.B. "Was das Bild für den Komponisten für einen Sinn hatte...", S. 29). Zudem wird sowohl die kunsthistorische als auch die musikwissenschaftliche Fachliteratur völlig unzureichend verwendet.

Aus den hier vorgebrachten Gründen muß dem Buch von Weidner jeglicher wissenschaftlicher Wert abgesprochen werden.

Monika Fink, Innsbruck

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ZIEGLER, JOHANN, see WÜRTZ, HERWIG, and JOHANN ZIEGLER

C) PORTRAIT ICONOGRAPHY

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A description of computer application in the identification of Thomas Gainsborough's portrait of J.C. Bach at the Cincinnati Art Museum.

EGRI, PETER. "A portrait of the artist as a caricaturist: Picasso, Joyce and Britten." *Literature, painting and music*. Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1988: 99–132. (*Studies in Modern Philology*, Edited by Károly Manherz and János Szávai).

GLEISBERG, DIETER. "Zur deutschen Malerei der Bachzeit: Erkenntnisse aus einer Ausstellung." *Johann Sebastian Bach: Weltbild, Menschenbild, Notenbild, Klangbild*. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1988: 47–51.

GRIES, CHRISTIAN. "Johanna Dorothea Stock: Marginalien zu einem Mozart-Portrait." *Acta Mozartiana* 36/4 (1989): 81–9.

GUIZZI, FEBO. "The sounds of *povertà contenta*: cityscape, landscape, sound-scape, and musical portraiture in Italian painting of the 17th and 18th centuries." *Imago Musicae* 7 (1990): 115–47.

HELD, JULIUS S. "Constantijn Huygens and Susanna van Baerle: a hitherto unknown portrait." *Art Journal* 73/4 (1991): 653–68.

HORNYÁK, MARIA. "Ferenc Brunszvik, ein Freund von Beethoven." *Studia Musicologica* 32 (1990): 225–33.

Includes a portrait of the Count and his wife.

IESUÈ, ALBERTO. "È l'antico ritratto di Platti?" *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 22/1 (January–March 1988): 77–8.

The player of the violoncello or violone in Tiepolo's ceiling fresco in the Würzburg Residenz may be a portrait of Platti.

JUNOD, PHILIPPE. "Un descendant oublié du Père Castel: Marcel Amiguet." *Revue Musicale de la Suisse Romande* 40/3 (September 1987): 151–63.

Charles Blanc-Gatti worked in Paris throughout the 1920s, painted portraits of 12 composers and developed theories on the correspondences between sounds and colors.

KAIZINGER, RITA. "Mahlers Budapester Zeit in der Ikonographie." *Studia Musicologica* 31/1–4 (1989): 283–301.

Visual documentation of Mahler's years in Budapest (1888–91), when he was conductor of the Opera; includes photographs, portraits, drawings and illustrations, stage designs, and caricatures that appeared in the press.

KIANG, DAWSON. "Josquin Desprez and a possible portrait of the Ottoman prince Jem in the Capella Sistina Ms. 41." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 4/2 (1992): 411–25.

Proposes a new interpretation of the watercolor miniature of a Turk found at the beginning of the Kyrie in Josquin's *Missa La sol fa re mi*.

KING, RICHARD G. "Handel's travels in the Netherlands in 1750." *Music and Letters* 72/3 (August 1991): 372–83.

Handel's reasons for visiting Princess Anne of Hanover at Het Loo in 1750 remain ambiguous: they may have been related to his interest in painting.

KNOP, WOLFGANG. "Spurensicherung: Alexander Gerbig und der 'rote' Geiger Eduard Soermus." *Bildende Kunst* 9 (September 1987): 406–8.

Portrait paintings and drawings by Gerbig.

KOZA, JULIA EKLUND. "Music and the feminine

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- LIGO, LARRY. "Manet's *Le vieux musicien*, an artistic manifesto acknowledging the influence of Baudelaire and photography upon his work." *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 110/6 (December 1987): 232–8.
- MARSHALL, WILLIAM ARTHUR. "The Shudis and the Broadwoods." *Consort* 44 (1988): 23–5.
Brief discussion of a portrait of the Tschudi family by Marcus Tuschler; the painting was purchased by the National Portrait Gallery, London, in 1985.
- METZELAAR, HELEN. "An unknown 18th-century Dutch woman composer: Josina Boetzelaer (1733–1797)." *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Musikgeschiedenis* 40/2 (1990): 3–56.
Citations from the Iconographic Bureau of the Hague of portraits and engravings of the composer's husband are discussed; no portraits of the composer, however, are presently known to exist.
- MORENO, EMILIO. "Aspectos técnicos del tratado de violín de José Herrando (1756): el violín español en el contexto europeo de mediados del siglo XVIII." *Revista de Musicología* 11/3 (1988): 556–655.
Includes portraits and performance illustrations from Herrando's and other treatises.
- MÖLLER, ANGELA. "Zur Restaurierung des sogenannten Bachbildes von Johann Jakob Ihle." *Johann Sebastian Bach: Weltbild, Menschenbild, Notenbild, Klangbild*. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1988; 385–93.
- RAPP, JÜRGEN. "Kreuzigung und Höllenfahrt Christi: zwei Gemälde von Hans Mielich in der National Gallery of Art, Washington." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1990): 65–96.
In order to date these two panels, other works of Mielich are discussed which include numerous book illustrations in music manuscripts as well as a portrait of Cypriano Rore (1558–59).
- ROSTIROLLA, GIANCARLO. "Busti ottocenteschi di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina nei "templi" romani dell'arte e della musica." *Musica senza aggettivi: studi per Fedele d'Amico*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1991; vol. 2, 423–62. (*Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 25)
- SIEMANS, LOTHAR HERNÁNDEZ. "Los violinistas compositores en la Corte Española durante el período central del siglo XVIII." *Revista de Musicología* 11/3 (1988): 657–765.
Includes pictures of musicians of the courts of Felipe V and Fernando VI.
- SZMOLYAN, WALTER (ed.). *Das Porträt: Österreichische Komponisten der Gegenwart in Wort und Bild*. Wien: Niederösterreichs Pressehaus, 1989.
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Includes an iconography of works by Edvard Munch and others.
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D) ORGANOLOGY

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- Includes color reproductions from 17th-century song books and albums, as well as a statue of King David playing the harp (organ decoration, ca. 1598), and King David leading a group of musicians playing various instruments (painting on an organ wing, St. Martin, 1598).
- DUDÁČKÁ DÍLNA (*Dudý střední Evropy*). Strakonice: Muzeum Strakonice. 1989.
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- GOMEZ, TALIO and LOTHAR SIEMENS HERNÁNDEZ. "Los membranófonos tradicionales en la isla de la Palma." *Revista de Musicología* 10/3 (1987): 949–61.
Includes illustrations and photographs.
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- NORDBLADH, JARL. "The bronze-age lurs in light of rock art research." *Second Conference of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology, Stockholm, 1984*. Stockholm: Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien, 1986; 133–41.
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- REŽNÝ, JOSEF. Příspěvek k typologii dud u západních slovánů (A contribution to the typology of bagpipes used by western Slavs)." *Duácká dílna (Dudý střední Evropy)*. Strakonice Muzeum Strakonice, 1989; 4–40. [With English summary].
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- ROSSELLÓ, GUILLERMO see ÁLVAREZ-MARTÍNEZ, MARÍA DEL ROSARIO, and GUILLERMO ROSSELLÓ
- ROY, CHRISTOPHER D. "A Nuna flute: attribution

- and meaning." *Sounding Forms: African musical instruments*. Edited by Marie-Thérèse Brincard. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1989; 83–4.
- Summary of the traditional use and iconographic significance of a flute of the Nuna people of southern Burkina Faso.
- SCHMIDT, CYNTHIA E. "African mbira as musical icons." *Sounding forms: African musical instruments*. Edited by Marie-Thérèse Brincard. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1989; 73–7.
- SCHULZE, KATHRIN, see MARTIUS, KLAUS, and KATHRIN SCHULZE
- SIEMENS HERNÁNDEZ, LOTHAR, see GOMEZ, TALIO and LOTHAR SIEMENS HERNÁNDEZ
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- The Liebig's Fleisch-Extract Company was the first of its kind to use mass advertising on an international scale; six of the company's *Sammelkarten* from 1910 are discussed, depicting the history of Western music from ancient Egypt to 18th-century European *Hausmusik*.
- TAUL, JOHANNES. "Dudy v SSSR a zejména v Estonsku (Bagpipes in the U.S.S.R. and especially in Estonia)." *Dudácká dílna (Dudý strední Evropy)*. Strakonice: Muzeum Strakonice, 1989; 51–59. [With English summary].
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- Includes watermarks created in the form of posthorns.
- TORRES MULAS, JACINTO. "Interpretación orga-
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- VAN DER HEIDE, GEERT. "Brass instrument metalworking techniques: from the Bronze Age to the Industrial Revolution." *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3 (1991): 122–50.
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- VAN SCHAİK, MARTIN. *The Harp in the Middle Ages: the symbolism of a musical instrument*. Amsterdam; Atlanta: Editions Rodopi B.V., 1992.
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- Discusses the famous *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian*, ca. 1516, and its depictions of contemporary wind instruments.
- ZHANG, WEI-HUA. "Music in Ming daily life, as portrayed in the narrative *Jin Ping Mei*." *Asian Music* 23, 2 (Spring-Summer 1992): 105–34.
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- Discusses two types of Chinese-American traditional music and opera groups; includes a Currier lithograph of a Chinese family with instruments, exhibited by P.T. Barnum in 1850.

E) DEPICTIONS ON MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

- ÁLVAREZ, ROSARIO MARTINEZ. "Antiguos órganos alemanes en Tenerife (Siglos XVII al XIX)." *Revista de Musicología* 9/2 (July-December 1986): 452–500.
- . "El órgano en Tenerife: Aportaciones para su catalogación y estudio." *V Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana* (1982). n.p.: Cabil-do Insular de Gran Canaria, n.d. — Off-print.
- BARCLAY, ROBERT L. "Preliminary studies on trumpet making techniques in 17th- and 18th-century Nürnberg." *Studia Organologica: Festschrift für John Henry van der Meer zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*. Edited by Friedemann Hellwig. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1987; 11–32.
- Discusses implications of markings found on the surface of instruments made by Nürnberg trumpet smiths.
- DE VRIES, SANDRA. "De beschilderde luiken van het hoofdorgel in de Grote- of Sint Laurenskerk te Alkmaar." *Willem De Fesch (1687-ca. 1760)*. Alkmaar: Stichting Festival, 1987; 141–52.
- DEVALE, SUE CAROLE. "African harps: construction, decoration, and sound." *Sounding Forms: African musical instruments*. Edited by Marie-Thérèse Brincard. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1989; 53–61.
- DIETRICH, GABRIELE. "Die Meistersinger von Memmingen: Wie aus einer "vollkommenen Gesellschaft" ein "gutes Dutzend alter, verrotter Gesellen aus allen Handwerken" wurde." *Literatur in Bayern* 25 (September 1991): 24–35.
- Includes color reproductions from 17th-century song books and albums, as well as a statue of King David playing the harp (organ decoration, ca. 1598), and King David leading a group of musicians playing various instruments (painting on an organ wing, St. Martin, 1598).
- DUDÁČKÁ DÍLNA (*Dudý střední Evropy*). Strakonice: Muzeum Strakonice, 1989.
- Contributions to the 2nd meeting of bagpipe producers in Strakonice, 1987. Summaries in English.
- GEARY, CHRISTRAUD M. "Slit gongs in the Cameroon grassfields: sights and sounds of beauty and power." *Sounding Forms: African musical instruments*. Edited by Marie-Thérèse Brincard. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1989; 63–71.
- The royal slit gong (*nkindi*) from among the Banum of Cameroon and those known under several names among the Bamileke once served ritual purposes and were symbols of status.
- GUIZZI, FEBO. "Visual message and music in cultures with oral tradition." *Imago Musicae* 7 (1990): 7–23.
- HUBER, ALFONS. "Deckelstützen und Schalldeckel an Hammerklavieren." *Studia Organologica: Festschrift für John Henry van der Meer zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*. Edited by Friedemann Hellwig. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1987; 229–51.
- MARTIUS, KLAUS, and KATHRIN SCHULZE. "Ernst Busch und Paul Hiltz: zwei Nürnberger Lauten- und Violonmachers der Barockzeit. Untersuchungen zum Streichinstrumentenbau in Nürnberg." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1991): 145–83.
- MCGEARY, THOMAS. "Peter Sprengel's description of clavichord building (1773)." *The Organ Yearbook* 19 (1988): 104–31.
- Includes 18th-century illustrations of technological improvements and marquetry.
- POKORNÝ, OTAKAR. "K tradici a současnosti Moravské Gajdoské hudby (Tradition and present situation in Moravian Gajdos music)." *Dudácká dílna (Dudý střední Evropy)*. Strakonice: Muzeum Strakonice, 1989; 41–50. [With English summary].
- REŽNÝ, JOSEF. "Příspěvek k typologii dud u západních Slovanů (A contribution to the typology of bagpipes used by western Slavs)." *Dudácká dílna (Dudý střední Evropy)*. Strakonice: Muzeum Strakonice, 1989; 4–40. [With English summary].
- ROSS, DORAN H. "Master drums from Akan popular bands." *Sounding Forms: African musical instruments*. Edited by Marie-Thérèse Brincard. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1989; 79–81.
- Description and interpretation of the anthropomorphic features found on a unique drum from the Akan of Ghana.
- SÖDERBERG, BERTIL. "African musical instruments and their decoration." *Sounding Forms: African musical instruments*. Edited by Marie-Thérèse Brincard. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1989; 31–6.
- THOMPSON, ROBERT FARRIS. "Body and voice: Kongo figurative musical instruments." *Sounding Forms: African musical instruments*. Edited by Marie-Thérèse Brincard. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1989; 39–45.
- The Bakongo of Zaire integrate the image of the human body into their musical instrument design.

Directions to Contributors

The purpose of *Imago Musicae* is the publication of original articles on the representation of music in the visual arts and the relation between music and art. The official languages are English, German, and French; Italian and Spanish are possible too.

Manuscripts. All material should be typed double-spaced with wide margins. Footnotes, bibliography, list of illustrations, musical examples, etc. should be typed (double-spaced) on separate sheets. To preserve anonymity during the refereeing process the author's name and full address should appear only on the cover sheet together with the title. The layout allows for main text with footnotes, and excursions (in *petit*) without footnotes. Quotations in non-modern languages should be given in their original form in the main text with translation in a footnote. Modern language quotations are given in the main text without translation.

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Bowles, Edmund A.

1977 *Musikleben im 15. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik (*Musikgeschichte in Bildern* vol. 1, fasc. 8)

Winkler, Friedrich

1913 "Gerard David und die Brügger Miniaturmalerei seiner Zeit." *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 6: 271–280.

Illustrations. The photographs must be of the highest quality and taken directly from the original, but if that is impossible must be of quality as if they were. They should be printed on high gloss paper, and no smaller than 13 × 18 cm. Except for photos from woodcuts and engravings (where high contrast is preferable) the prints should be made from continuous-tone negatives. Drawings should be in black ink on white drawing paper. It is the author's responsibility to obtain permission to reproduce material. Each photograph must be numbered consecutively on the back and include the author's address (do not use ballpoint).

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2. Drawing of the outside of shaman drum. – Photo: after Klements 1890: II, 2, pl. V.

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Bowles, Edmund A.

1977 *Musikleben im 15. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik (*Musikgeschichte in Bildern* Bd. 3, Lfg. 8)

Winkler, Friedrich

1913 "Gerard David und die Brügger Miniaturmalerei seiner Zeit." *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 6: 271–280.

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1. Tintoretto, *Musizierende Frauen*. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie (zerstört). – Photo: Alinari-Viollet
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